

Buddhist and Christian Gospels

NOW FIRST COMPARED FROM THE
ORIGINALS: BEING "GOSPEL
PARALLELS FROM PĀLI TEXTS,"
REPRINTED WITH ADDITIONS

BY

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*Fourth Edition: being the Tōkyō edition
revised and enlarged*

EDITED WITH ENGLISH NOTES ON
CHINESE VERSIONS DATING FROM
THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

BY

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“IN THOSE AGES IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USELESS TO ATTEMPT A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR SUCH TEACHING. WHAT COULD BEST BE DONE WAS TO ENFORCE SOME FEW GREAT TRUTHS—AS THE SOUL’S LONG UPWARD PROGRESS, OR THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD—IN SUCH REVELATIONS AS EAST AND WEST COULD UNDERSTAND. GRADUALLY SCIENCE AROSE, UNITING THE BELIEFS OF ALL PEOPLES IN ONE SCHEME OF ORGANIZED TRUTH, AND SUGGESTING—AS HAS BEEN SAID—THAT RELIGION MUST BE THE SPIRIT’S SUBJECTIVE REACTION TO ALL THE TRUTHS WE KNOW.”

MYERS : *Human
Personality*, Chap. IX.

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I. AIM OF THIS BOOK.

The two great missionary religions, which traveled round the world in opposite directions until they met, have hitherto been strangers to each other. The younger one has called the older "heathenism," while the older one has called the younger "the superstition of the Franks." (1) It is the aim of this book to compare, not their corruptions and idolatries, (2) but their oldest and purest documents, regarded by each as the inspired oracles of its Founder. Such comparison will finally have the effect of making them respect each other, and hasten the day when mankind will be one.

(1) Parāṅgi-micchādizhi, in a Pāli chronicle of 1802. (Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1885, p. 19.)

(2) It is true that there are the beginnings of these corruptions in the sacred texts themselves: e. g. the Infancy Sections. To compare the fundamental documents will be a task for the future.

2. WHAT TO READ HEREIN.

For readers who have no time for my whole book, and yet would like to gain some idea thereof, I prescribe the following extracts :

- 1 The five Prefaces (including Anesaki's).
- 2 The last ten or twelve pages of the Historical Introduction.
- 3 Selection of Parallels that strike one in reading the Table of Contents.

If some of my reviewers had spent an hour over this modicum of matter, there would have been fewer of the usual wild statements.

3. PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

After the manuscript of the third edition was dispatched to Tōkyō (September, 1904), there appeared in Germany the following work, which had already appeared in Holland in 1901:—

Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen.
Von G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga. Mit einem
Nachwort von Ernst Kuhn. Göttingen, 1904.

This German translation of Van Eysinga's Dutch book is published in Bousset and Gunkel's series of Old and New Testament Researches, and its appearance under such auspices is sufficient indication of the standing which the problem has at last won. For my present edition I have taken several hints from Van Eysinga, especially in the Appendix on Apocryphal Parallels. I am also indebted to Pfeiderer herein. Van Eysinga had evidently no access to my *Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts*, which were appearing in Chicago while his first edition was going to press: he relies mainly upon Seydel, whose great source was the *Lalita Vistara*, translated from the Tibetan by Foucaux. On my part, I secured a copy of Van Eysinga too late for my third edition. Van Eysinga, however, mentions my work in a footnote, while Kuhn calls fuller attention thereto in his *Nachwort*.

Otto Pfeiderer, in his *Religion und Religionen* (Munich, 1906) takes the ground of Baur, that

Christianity is a synthesis of all preceding religious antitheses, and that Buddhism is one of its sources.

In his *Christian Origins* (English translation, New York, 1906, p. 226,) the same scholar says: "These [Buddhist] parallels to the childhood stories of Luke are too striking to be classed as mere chance: some kind of historical connection must be postulated."

Otto Schmiedel, in his *Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Ed. 2, Tübingen, 1906, p. 31) says:—

"Eine Abhängigkeit vom Buddhismus bei Lucas und Johannes ist *möglich*, bei den *apokryphischen* Evangelien, d. h. den etwa zwischen 150–700 und teilweise noch später abgefassten, legendarischen, fast durchweg die Kindheits-und Mariengeschichte behandelnden Erzeugnissen, *unabweislich*."

While the aim of my book is as already stated, yet as a secondary aim is the discussion of this problem of action and reaction between the cosmic Twain, and their probable derivation from an ancient fund of Asiatic belief. Scholars (by which I mean philologists who are also philosophers) are beginning to break the shackles and ignorances of the last generation, with its Mediterranean culture and Romocentric universe. Our culture is now crossing the Euphrates. Pāli scholars like Rhys Davids, (1)

(1) Rhys Davids has given me permission to quote him as saying to me: "The evidences in favor of intercommunication are growing every day."

Ernst Kuhn, Heinrich Kern, Richard Pischel and Takakusu now take this problem seriously, while Max Müller and Edmond Hardy did so before they died. No scholar can any longer assert that Indianists are averse to its discussion.

A clear idea of the situation may be gained by a comparison. The continents of North and South America are united by an isthmus, but each expands independently and in an opposite direction: their only connection is a narrow neck. On the other hand, in a pre-historic age they may have been more closely allied than at present, and in any case they both are parts of mother earth. Even so are Christianity and Buddhism related. Upon the historical plane the connection is very slight, and each religion belongs to a hemisphere of its own.

Other schemes of comparison than our present one could be used, such as the following :—

- 1 The Synoptical Tradition (i.e. the Biography composed by Mark).
- 2 The Logia.
- 3 The Infancy Sections.
- 4 The Matthean and Lucan Legends.
- 5 The Johannine Gospel.

Or, from the Buddhist standpoint :—

- 1 The Classified Collection, the Itivuttaka, and the older parts of the Vinaya.
2. The Later Nikāyas and the poetical sūtras:

Sutta-Nipāto, &c. Also, Jātakas and Adbhuta matter.

5 The Abhidharma and the Apocrypha (Lalita Vistara, &c.)

4 The Mahāyāna.

But such an arrangement would be difficult, for even in the Synoptical tradition and the Classified Collection some allegories and portents are introduced. Moreover, those of us who have experienced psychical phenomena could not collocate apparitions and transfigurations with miraculous meals and virginal births. Our present arrangement by subjects and not by literary strata is therefore the best.

I give here the schemes of comparison used by Spence Hardy and Seydel. The following is Hardy's, which I found in the library of Harvard University after my book had issued from the Tōkyō press:—

Christianity and Buddhism
Compared.

By the late Rev. R. Spence Hardy.

Colombo :
Wesleyan Mission Press.

1874.

Contents.

Book I. Prefatory.

- Chapter 1 The Rule of Faith.
2 The Existence of God.
3 The Origin of the Universe.
4 The Origin of Evil.
-

Book II. The Person.

- Chapter 1 Pre-Existence.
2 The Purpose and Preparation.
3 The Incarnation.
4 The Early Life.
5 The Temptation.
-

Book III. The Ministry.

- Chapter 1 The Commencement.
2 The Assertion of the Supremacy.
3 The Evidence in proof of the Supremacy.
4 The Voice of the Teacher.
-

Book IV. The Development of the System.

- Chapter 1 The Rule of Life.
2 The Economy of the Church.
3 The Issues of Life.
-

In the preface, the author compares the problem of arriving at original Buddhism by the study of its present phases in Ceylon, Farther India and Tibet, to the similar problem in our own religion: given Italian Papacy, English Puritanism and German Rationalism, to find Apostolic Christianity. Spence

Hardy's last chapter was deciphered from his rough draft after his death, and in this draft the last chapter was entitled *The Issues of Death*.

Whatever coincidences there may be between my book and Spence Hardy's are entirely due to the nature of the subject. Seydel's, however, I find I had classified in 1889 or 1890, when working in the old Philadelphia Library. But I was not studying on these lines at that period, and made no note of it. Later I picked up Lillie's little book, which is based upon Seydel, and got a few hints from it, especially the parallel about the Triumphal Entry. I was going to rule this out as too slender, but noticed the curious wording of the two refrains (unobserved by Lillie) which caused me to retain it. I bought Seydel's chief books in 1900 and 1901, after large portions of my *Parallels* had appeared in *The Open Court*. But Seydel's mixture of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna documents, to say nothing of his deficiency in New Testament criticism and Pāli philology, convinced me that a critical comparison had yet to be made. Moreover, Seydel's avowed aim was to show an historical connection between the two religions. Mine is not, tho I do admit the probability of such connection in a minor degree.

The following is Seydel's scheme, translated from the German :—

The Gospel of Jesus
in its relations with the Legend and Teaching of

Buddha. Investigated by Rudolph Seydel.
Leipzig, 1882.

Buddhist-Christian Gospel-Harmony, with occasional references to the influences of other religions.

- 1 Genealogies.
- 2 Angelic Annunciation and Prediction.
- 3 Conception by the Holy Ghost.
- 4 Before Birth.
- 5 The Star of the Magi.
- 6 Bethlehem.
- 7 Shepherds and Angels.
- 8 Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh.
- 9 Simeon.
- 10 Hymnology.
- 11 Herod's Fear, Enquiries and Slaughter.
- 12 The Name-giving.
- 13 Presentation in the Temple.
- 14 His Parents seek him.
- 15 Precocity : he outstrips his Teacher.
- 16 That it might be Fulfilled which was Spoken.
- 17 The Voice of the Preacher in the Wilderness.
- 18 Fasting in the Wilderness.
- 19 Baptism in the Jordan.
- 20 The Temptation.
- 21 Forerunners.
- 22 Initiation.
- 23 Age at Public Appearance.
- 24 The Fig-tree.

- 25 Disciples.
- 26 Entrance upon his Ministry.
- 27 The Beatitudes.
- 28 Homeless, Chaste, Poor.
- 29 On the Mountain.
- 30 Compassion for the Multitude.
- 31 Physician, Savior, Redeemer.
- 32 Universality of Salvation: Publicans and Sinners. The Magdalene. The Samaritan Woman.
- 33 The Goal of Salvation.
- 34 The Way of Salvation.
- 35 He that Loseth his Life shall Find it.
 - a. Blessed are the Poor. Sell that thou hast!
 - b. He that Humbleth himself shall be Exalted.
 - c. Blessed are they that are Persecuted. Revile not again.
 - d. Pluck out thine Eye and cast it from thee!
- 36 Specific Morality.
- 37 Parables.
 - a. The Prodigal Son.
 - b. The Man Born Blind.
- 38 Relationship to God. Consciousness of Revelation.
- 39 Miracle.
- 40 Results.
- 41 Combats and Persecutions.
- 42 Instruction to the Disciples.

- 43 Forebodings of Death. Farewell Discourses.
 - 44 The Paraclete.
 - 45 Eschatological Discourses. Cosmic Con-
vulsions.
 - 46 This is my Body, this is my Blood.
 - 47 The Trinity.
 - 48 Peculiar Forms of Speech and Narrative.
 - 49 Go ye into all the World !
 - 50 Death amid Portents. Parting of the Gar-
ments.
 - 51 The Sinless, the Divine.
-

While this preface is being printed, I am in receipt of a letter from an English philologist, who, after reading my essay on Buddhist Texts in John (Philadelphia, 1906) complains that my argument requires the following postulate:—

“Let it be granted that a line of historic connection can be drawn from any passage in one set of writings to any at all conspicuously similar passage in another.”

To this I have replied that he is wrong, but I amend the postulate thus, and call it in his honor:—

The Johannine Postulate.

LET IT BE GRANTED THAT A LINE OF
HISTORIC CONNECTION CAN BE DRAWN
FROM ANY PASSAGE IN ONE SET OF
SACRED SCRIPTURES TO ANY CONSPIC-
UOUSLY SIMILAR PASSAGE IN ANOTHER,

BOTH OF WHICH SETS OF SCRIPTURES ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY NATIONS ANCIENTLY ACCOUNTED SEATS OF WISDOM, WHICH NATIONS ARE ALSO KNOWN TO HAVE HAD FREQUENT INTER-COURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

The whole trouble with my learned friend and with so many scholars is, that they do not realize the greatness of ancient India. I sympathize with them, for, by reason of our Mediterranean culture, it took me from 1880 (when I first studied Buddhism) to the present decade before I realized it. We do not yet know that at the time of Christ, India was one of the four great Powers of the earth. The leading nations then were the Romans, the Chinese, the Hindūs and the Parthians. China was somewhat secluded, tho not altogether so, while the other three were in active intercommunication. Now, in the case of verbal Parallels, like John VII. 38; XII. 34 (the subjects of my Essay), it is more rational to ascribe them to a great religion which was radiating its influence in all directions than to some hypothetical apocryphal author. The two texts in John are expressly quoted as Scripture, but are not to be found in the Old Testament or any known Jewish writing. The most we can say to this is that they are in the spirit of certain pseudepigrapha, but we can point to Buddhist texts in practically verbatim agreement.

However, I cannot often enough repeat that, while this question of Buddhist and Christian inter-

action is very fascinating, it is not and should not be our main theme. This we have clearly expressed above, under the title: "Aim of this Book."

Besides the notice of Rhys Davids, prefixed to the second edition, my book has been criticized by other eminent scholars: Louis de la Vallée Poussin, of Ghent; the late Otto Zöckler, of Greifswald; Jean Réville, of Paris; J. Takakusu, of Tōkyō; Ernst Kuhn, of Munich; and J. Estlin Carpenter, of Oxford. A review has also been promised by Richard Pischel, of Berlin. Reflections upon their criticisms and strictures will be found in the present edition (e. g. in the Historical Introduction and in the second Appendix.)

My learned friend, Talcott Williams, complains that I ought to give the Greek and the Pāli thruout, together with some one else's translation. Otherwise I may be and am accused of straining at a comparison. To this I answer:—

- 1 I give the originals in all cases of verbal agreement;
- 2 I frequently give alternative renderings;
- 3 Only a fraction of the Pīṭakas has been translated; so that quite often my own rendering is the first ever made in English—or even in a European tongue;
- 4 The printing of the original texts is an expensive undertaking which I would gladly embark upon.

In sending forth this new edition, I must thank, above all, Professor Anesaki, of Tōkyō (who is about to visit America), for his learned editorship; secondly, Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin, of Ghent, for his helpful critique, written at the request of the scholars of the Dominican Monastery at Jerusalem; and also Charles F. Jenkins, of Germantown, for continuing the library privileges granted me by my lamented and distinguished patron, Ellis Yarnall; John F. Lewis, vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for giving me the freedom of the Mercantile Library; and C. W. Larison, phonetic printer, of Ringoes, New Jersey, for supplying me with the nasal letter (ŋ). This letter was invented by Benjamin Franklin in 1768, and should therefore be familiar to all Americans. It was adopted by Isaac Pitman, in his *Phonotypy* in the middle of the last century, and by Rhys Davids, in his translation of the first forty Jātakas in 1880. It should therefore be known to all well-read Englishmen.

Philadelphia : August, 1907.

4. REFORMED SPELLING.

If I live to write an English Grammar, I shall begin like this :—

There are two kinds of written language :

- 1 Ideographic ;
- 2 Phonetic.

No. 1 uses conventionalized pictures for words : e. g., a pair of legs for a man, a disk for the sun, &c. No. 2 uses letters, which stand for sounds. But when the two systems are confused, a barbarous written language is the result. Such confusion may arise in No. 1 by assigning to certain ideographs a phonetic value, while retaining their ideographic sense also ; and in No. 2, by allowing letters to remain the same long after their sounds have changed. Chinese is the cardinal example of the first kind of confusion, and English of the second. These two languages, when written, are the jest of the civilized world.

When sound-signs no longer speak the truth, the word becomes practically an ideograph. Thus, in the word ONE, there is nothing true but the N. The E is silent, the O can mean at least four things ; while the W sound, heard in the spoken tongue, is not represented at all ! ONE is thus a semi-ideograph, and not a word. Now, the pronunciation of a true word is self-evident, but that of an ideograph can only be learnt by mixing with speakers of the language : it makes any study of the

speech from books impossible, except by reconstruction. So deep-seated are the superstitions of religion, politics and language, that we even plume ourselves upon the supposed smartness of saying one thing and writing another, like the English, who write "Beauchamp" and say "Beecham," who write "Cholmondeley" and say "Chumley." We have the same literary habits as the Chinese: just as they make words rime (1) (supposedly) as they rimed in the age of Mencius, so we make *war* rime with *star* merely on account of their appearance when written with an alphabet which has twenty-six letters to represent forty sounds.

When a language becomes thus degenerate, a disuse of it by the most intelligent nations ensues, and its final decay is already at hand. Phonetic languages that are controlled by scholars, as are Spanish and German, make the signs keep pace with the sounds. Such languages are on their way to become general, however much the degenerates may seem to thrive for a time by reason of commercial success. The degeneracy of English spelling has gone so far that even a slight reform seems surgical. Thus, the Roman letter U (whose true sound is preserved in *rude* and *brute*) has attracted a *y* to it in English; and instead of inserting this

(1) This is Milton's spelling in *Paradise Lost*:

"Things unattempted yet in prose or rime."

Some pedant who was ignorant of Anglo-Saxon set the fashion of writing it *rhyme*, because he fancied that it was connected with *rhythm*.

y and writing *styūpid*, *astyūt*, &c., we have altered the value of U and call it YU, much to the worse confusion of the already long-suffering Roman alphabet. And until elementary philology is taught in our normal schools, teachers and pupils alike will go on imagining all such falsities about the meaning of letters, and will gravely inform you that *thru* spells *thryū* (riming with *few*). They do not know that the scholars of Europe and America have merely restored to U its original sound by this change.

In adopting the trifling changes here introduced, such as *tho* and *thru* and the abolition of the æ, it must not be supposed that the writer is a cold-blooded reformer who does not feel the wrench. On the contrary, he feels it keenly, and to write *eon* and *pean* for *æon* and *pæan* gives him real pain. Then there is the uneasy consciousness that legions of school-girls will cry "Ignoramus!" And if he had the ill luck to be a President who was fighting for elementary common sense in documents of State, he would be nonplust by an ignorant Congress, just as our present barbarous orthography has been fixt upon us by German printers of the sixteenth, and half-taught schoolmasters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A study of scientific languages like Sanskrit and Pāli clears the mind of provincial superstitions, while a slight acquaintance with Chinese gives one an insight into the abyss toward which our own

language is drifting. Hence one can make the required sacrifice of sentiment to science, knowing that, while dilettantes may censure, scholars will acquit. I am aware that a few in the ranks of the latter contend for our present corruptions upon psychologic grounds: they would have the written language partly phonetic and partly ideographic. But upon them must be laid the burden of showing how this can be consistently done. Probably, however, no one in the ranks of our adversaries has the cosmic knowledge of language possessed by a Max Müller or a Henry Sweet, or by my friend Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, secretary of the Simplified Spelling Board, 1, Madison Avenue, New York.

While thus expressing my views from the standpoint of language at large, it is but just to the learned members of the Simplified Spelling Board to say that their changes are strictly in accord with English traditions, and not *à priori* phonetic reforms. It is only necessary to write a postal card to the Board's headquarters to receive a list of their proposed changes and the reasons therefor.

I am proud to say that a fellow-citizen of Philadelphia (which the Spaniards correctly write Filadelfia) has preceded me in adopting these little changes in a scientific work. I refer to *Comparative Art*, by Edwin Swift Balch (Philadelphia, 1906).

As Americans, we must remember that precisely these initial reforms were begun by Noah Webster. In the two editions of his American

Dictionary of the English Language, printed during his own lifetime (New York, 1828, and New Haven, 1841), he defends, upon strictly conventional grounds, the few departures that he made from the confused spelling of Dr. Johnson. He proves by quotations that the spelling is not and never has been fixt. He points out the absurdity of retaining the *u* in *labour* and striking it out of *authour* and *emperour*; of retaining the French form *theatre*, but making *chamber* English. This learned introduction ought to be reprinted in larger type by the Simplified Spelling Board. (1) Very few Americans realize what a step was made by Webster and how he was execrated by the conservatives, especially in England. But he was carrying out what the English had themselves begun: the gradual reform of their written language. His posthumous editor (1847) tells us that German critics applauded him for going even further than conventional analogies and striking out the *a* in *feather*, &c., and they predicted his success, "because similar improvements on a much broader scale had been easily made in their language." But, alas! while German writing is controlled by scholars, English is controlled by schoolmasters, printers, and journalists. This being the case, Webster restored the old orthography to several words in his second edition, after they had been before the world

(1) Webster's Dissertations on the English Language (Boston, 1789) should also be reprinted.

for twelve years since his first (1828-1840.) In recent editions of "Webster," there will be found a list of three thousand amended spellings, drawn up in 1883 by the Philological Societies of Great Britain and the United States. The modest three hundred changes of the Simplified Spelling Board are a mere selection from this international list.

People of English birth imagine that they speak the only English, and that all American differences are errors. But the philologists of Oxford and Cambridge could teach them better, if they would but learn. These scholars could show them that it is a law of language for pronunciation to change with every century, especially when the speakers thereof become separated by geographical barriers, such as an ocean or a mountain chain. After ages of such separation we first have dialects and finally new languages. The steamship, the telegraph and the public press will retard the transformation in our case, but they cannot prevent it; and in the next millenium American English will have its own grammar and dictionary. Even now an interesting monograph could be written on the two dialects, the European and the American, and long tables drawn up of differences in meaning and pronunciation. Thus, the word *fiend* has come to mean, in the United States, one who does anything assiduously or in excess, so that some enthusiastic worshipers once explained to me that their family were "great church fiends." I am aware that the English will tell me that this is American slang, but

it is not. It is no more slang than the word *sick* in European English, which now means vomiting, whereas in American English it means ill. And it meant so in the European English of 1611, which is the common heritage of both nations.

Thus thru the ages do changes occur, and philosophers will be prepared for them and adapt themselves thereto. And so soon as they get control of the language, as they ought, they will see to it that the spoken tongue and its written counterpart be kept abreast, and will forever prevent the possibility of the latter becoming a mere fossil, worse than Chinese.

5. PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1902)

Orientalists are aware that a series of translations entitled *Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts* appeared in *The Open Court* of Chicago in 1900 and 1901, following upon the translation of the Canonical Buddhist Nativity legend, which appeared in 1898. These Parallels have aroused the interest of New Testament scholars, like Rendel Harris and Caspar Gregory, and it is proposed to reprint them, with additions and historical introduction, in book form.

An excellent bibliography of former attempts to compare Christianity and Buddhism will be found in *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, by Charles Francis Aiken, (Boston, 1900, p. 339). From this it appears that one of the first to institute such comparison was the well-known German New Testament scholar, Hilgenfeld, in 1867. The first systematic treatise by an English scholar was *Christianity and Buddhism Compared*, by Robert Spence Hardy (Colombo, 1874); while the standard works upon the whole subject are two in German by Rudolph Seydel, in 1882 and 1884.

It is believed, however, that our present work is the first comparison made from the Pāli texts themselves. Even Spence Hardy did not know Pāli, but Singhalese, and relied upon medieval Ceylon treatises, in which text and commentary are confused. He made some use, however, of a por-

tion of the Pāli Canon which was translated to him by an ex-monk in Ceylon. But Seydel had to rely upon the small fraction of the Canon which had been translated in his time. His son, P. M. Seydel, edited a posthumous work of his father's in 1897; but it still represented the learning of the Eighties. Moreover the Seydels include translations from the Chinese and other post-Christian Buddhist versions alongside of the pre-Christian Pāli. Our present work is the first attempt to compare Buddhist Pāli with Christian Greek. Many of our translations in *The Open Court* appeared there for the first time in English, especially from the Enunciations, the Logia Book, and the Middling and Numerical Collections.

Our book will cover some three hundred pages, and as publication may be delayed, the student is presented with the following outline.

6. PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Our first edition, printed in 1902, was merely a 16-page abstract of the whole work. The present edition is also fragmentary, except that the section dealing with the Doctrine of the Lord is printed in full. The publication of historical works is very difficult in this age of ephemera. The only genuine publishers are governments, universities and learned societies, together with a very few commercial firms that have men of learning at their head. Not having any influence with the first three, and having sought in vain to find the last or at least to enlist their co-operation, I am compelled to print piecemeal what my funds will permit.

But while the commercial world ignores a work of research, scholars accord it recognition. T. W. Rhys Davids, of London, in an article entitled "Buddhism and Christianity," in *The International Quarterly* for 1903, has called public attention to my book in the following words. Speaking of the premature work of Seydel, he says :

"We shall soon see. An American scholar, Mr. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, is on the point of publishing a complete set of comparisons between the Nikāyas and the Gospels, adducing later materials only by way of comparison and carefully distinguishing them from the earlier documents."

For further information I must refer the reader to our first edition, and to the following numbers

of the Chicago *Open Court*, where many of our Parallels have appeared: February, April, June and October, 1900; January and July, 1901; September and November, 1902; April and December, 1903.

I repeat what I said in the provisional preface in 1900:

“No borrowing is alleged on either side—Christian or Buddhist—in these Parallels. We offer no theory but present them as facts. They at least belong to a world of thought which the whole East had in common.”

In my unpublisht Historical Introduction I have admitted the possibility of a knowledge of the Buddhist Epic on the part of Luke; but his use of it, if actual, was very slight and almost entirely confined to his Infancy Section.

Finally, the Parallels are mainly in ideas, not in words.

3231 Sansom Street, Philadelphia:

Good Friday, 1904.

7. PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION (Tōkyō, 1905)

The present work is part of a larger one : viz.,
CYCLOPEDIA EVANGELICA: *an English Documentary Introduction to the Four Gospels.*

I may truly say it is my life-work. (1) In 1875 I compiled a manuscript Harmony of the Gospels, which laid the foundation of my studies, after a good Quaker knowledge of those corner-stones of sacred literature. In 1877, I had some instruction in the Greek Testament and the classics from William Scarnell Lean. In 1879 I met with two remarkable men, who incited me to read the *Sacred Books of the East*, then beginning to appear. They were Thomas Dixon, the workman-friend of Ruskin, and William Brockie. The latter was a self-made scholar of an original type, and a philologist of no mean caliber. These two men set the key-note of my life. In 1880 I began to read the Sacred Books, and in 1890 took up a course of study in the Greek Gospels and the early Fathers, with Rendel Harris for a guide. In 1891 I began the Documentary Introduction, by tabulating patristic quotations; and in 1898 finisht all but the portion which is to

(1) Jean Réville misunderstands this statement (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*: Paris, Sept.-Oct. 1906) and imagines that I have been dominated for thirty years by a fixt idea. But in 1875 I was orthodox. It required many years to enable me to regard religions impartially. See *Buddhist Texts in John*, p. 19. [Note of 1907.]

deal with comparative religion. Since 1895 I have studied Pāli literature in isolation,(2) but with frequent encouragement from Lanman, the successor of Whitney as the leader of American Indianists.

My Cyclopedia, if ever it see the light, will contain the following matter :

1 Preface.

2 The Gospel of Mark in English, with the common matter in heavy type, after the manner of

(2) To give the reader an idea of the difficulties under which I workt, it must be stated that there is (so far as known to me) only one complete Pāli dictionary in the great and wealthy State of Pennsylvania. It was put into the University Library in the winter of 1896-1897 by Professor Jastrow, at my request, when a second-hand copy of Childers had been pointed out to me by my lamented friend Howard Lloyd. There has been, since the time of Lloyd P. Smith, a copy of the first half of Childers (A—N) in the Logonian Library, which I was allowed to use by Ellis Yarnall. When the University secured the whole volume, I was permitted the loan of it for three months, and copied therefrom all the verbs and also the minor parts of speech in the second half of the Roman alphabet. I also wrote in shorthand the meanings of all the words from N to Y in the vocabularies of the Pāli texts in my possession. When the Dictionary was finally placed in the Reference Department of the University Library, I could only consult it on the spot, and made periodical trips with accumulations of nouns and adjectives from N to Y to hunt up. After working in this disjointed way all my life, I have found it impossible to keep it up, and have now (1907) deposited my Oriental and historical collection in the Semitic Seminary at Bryn Mawr College. So there are now two libraries in the State (one for each sex) where the Pāli Texts in Roman letters may be found.

Abbott and Rushbrooke, only that the agreements of any two evangelists are so treated, instead of three or four.

3 The Logia-source similarly exhibited by the matter common to Luke and Matthew.

4 All quotations from the Gospels and references to the life of Christ down to Justin Martyr inclusive (A. D. 150), conformed to the Revised Version of 1881, thereby exhibiting some quotations disguised in the current translations of the Fathers.

5 Lists of New Testament books from the earliest MSS. (Part of this portion appeared in *The Friend*: Philadelphia; 1st Mo. 28, and 2nd Mo. 4, 1899.)

6 The Eusebian Canons and Ammonian Sections accurately tabulated, with contents, besides having been given in the margin of Mark.

7 New Testament and patristic passages on the growth of the Canon, arranged under heads that show the development.

8 Jewish and non-Christian prophecies and parallels, whereof the present work is a portion. Under the same head is included the evangelical element in Philo. I hope also to add the Talmudic statements about Jesus.

9 List of lost works of the first and second centuries.

10 Jerome's Lives of the Evangelists, with notes, pointing out older authorities. (This ap-

peared in pamphlet form at Philadelphia in 1896, and is now exhausted.)

11 A study of the transmission of the different sacred literatures of the world, compared with that of the New Testament. (Part of this study was read before the American Oriental Society in 1896.)

12 Appendix on the Infancy Sections (Matthew I.-II; Luke I.-II.)

Seydel's large work on the Buddhist and Christian Gospels I have only lately seen, and his smaller one (3) came into my hands when my book was almost done; but as this truly original scholar did not know Pāli, and wrote at a time when even translations from the Buddhist Canon were few, his work must needs be done again. It is absolutely imperative to study these parallels in their earliest forms, which are to be found in the Pāli Piṭakas and the Greek New Testament. Comparison of late patristic additions is quite another thing. Some of the most searching Parallels can only be seen by a knowledge of the Greek: e. g. *αἰώνιον ἁμαρτήμα* and *ὁ Χριστὸς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*.

In choosing these Parallels I have been guided more by central ideas than by verbal agreement, of which there is little. Take for example the story of the Penitent Thief. In the Buddhist and Chris-

(3) Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien. (Weimar, 1897, Ed. 2.) This is edited by his son, but the father's work is hardly brought down below 1884, the date of the first edition.

tian narratives there is nothing on the surface to suggest a parallel. But, looking deeper, we find in both the following central ideas:

- 1 Conversion of a robber.
- 2 His complete forgiveness (except as to physical pains).
- 3 His happiness hereafter.

Moreover, there is in the Buddhist legend the Johannine doctrine of the New Birth, while a genuine Gospel spirit of pity for the poor and outcast breathes thru the whole. No wonder the story was so popular. As pointed out in my note, it is one out of a choice group of leading scenes in Buddha's life which were graven on the great Tope in the ancient capital of Ceylon, in the second century before Christ. The Chinese, too, have more than one version of the story in separate form, as well as the Canonical translation in their Āgamas.

When a Christian parallel narrative is told by more than one Evangelist, my principles of selection are as follow: If one Gospel agree more closely with the Pāli than another, I give its account alone, leaving the student to refer to the parallel or parallels in other Gospels in the usual way. If there be no such choice, I give Mark the preference in narrative (and in such discourses as he may relate) because of his primacy among the Synoptists. (4) If Mark have no account of the

(4) The Twentieth Century New Testament rightly places Mark at the head of the Gospels.

parallel in question, I prefer the First Gospel to Luke, because (1) it contains the substance of the lost Logia-Source (which was perhaps older than Mark) in fuller measure than Luke; and (2) because Luke so frequently agrees with the Pāli when the others do not, that I do not wish to make out a case for him by using him where there is no need. My use of the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse has been sparing, my aim being to compare the Masters. These books doubtless contain, however, doctrines and sayings which go back to Christ, as well as acknowledged developments and borrowings from non-Christian fields. But then the Pāli Texts themselves contain the later doctrines of the Order side by side with the words of the Master, the *Sāvaka-bhāsitā* as well as the *Tathāgata-bhāsitā*.

Regarding these translations, it must be borne in mind that many of them have been made for the first time in English, or even in a European tongue. The Pāli language has not been studied long enough to give it the fixity of Greek and Latin. The only Dictionary is far from perfect, though it cost the heroic Childers his life. If I have therefore made mistakes, I shall be grateful to have them corrected. I may be reproacht for translating Brahmā by "God," but Buddhists themselves, tho agnostic as regards the Deity, use the name to represent the Brahmin idea of a conscious Supreme Being, as well as the Archangel and archangels of their own mythology.

Many of the parallels came to me independently

while reading the Pāli Texts or their versions ; but I have also been helpt by the works of Max Müller, Renan, Beal, Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Fausböll, Estlin Carpenter, Copleston and Rendel Harris,(5) all of whom have pointed out parallels between Buddhism and Christianity.

Then I have made use of those scholars who have traced the course of Indian communications with the west: Robertson, Claudius Buchanan, Lassen, Reinaud, Priaulx, John Davies, Birdwood, Hopkins and D'Alviella. Nor must I forget the debt I owe to the London Pāli Text Society, but for whose valuable editions in Roman type, my work could never have been done.

The lamented Henry C. Warren, in his *Buddhism in Translations*, (Harvard University, 1896) deals more with the metaphysics of the religion than with its popular aspects. Moreover, fully half his work is taken from commentaries and other uncanonical sources. My own rule has been to confine myself to the pre-Christian canonical texts.

The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, by Charles Francis Aiken (Boston, 1900) has come into my hands in time to

(5) Especially in correspondence with me. For bibliography generally, I refer the reader to the valuable one in Dr. Aiken's book mentioned below, merely adding that he has omitted Neumann's translation of the *Majjhima Nikāyo* : 1896-1902, and has put Milindo among the Pāli texts, instead of among the commentaries.

profit by some of its useful suggestions. Thus, I have banisht the alleged parallel to Nicodemus, have introduced the words "Capital" and "Pean" into the title of the *Triumphal Entry*, and have given a fuller extract here than I had done before reading Aiken. I have also added a few lines in my introduction about Buddhists committing suicide, &c. These are the chief places where Dr. Aiken has influenced the text of my *Parallels* or my *Historical Introduction*, but I have frequently mentioned him in the notes. When, therefore, we make almost identical statements, as we do in the case of the lack of Buddhist memorials in the Greek empire, we are writing independently of each other. On this particular point, however, we have had a guide in Estlin Carpenter.

I thoroly agree with the learned Catholic divine in his maintenance of the independent origin of Buddhist and Christian Scriptures, provided we mean their fundamental documents. The Epistles of Paul, the Gospel of Mark, and the Logia-Source are dependent for their primary inspiration upon the life and deeds of Jesus, and secondly upon the Old Testament oracles, the current beliefs of the times, as embodied in works like *Enoch*; and the personal convictions of earnest men like Paul, Peter and Matthew. But when we come to late documents, such as Luke, John, and the canonical First Gospel, other influences have crept in. This is now admitted by all historical critics, and the most that I advance in this direction is the possibility of the

Gentile Gospel of Luke, in certain traits extraneous to the Synoptical narrative, having been tinged by the Gotamist Epic.

Dr. Aiken is just in many of his criticisms upon certain parallels adduced by former writers, as far-fetched. But he goes too far when he reduces the parallelism in the Triumphal Entry to the bare fact of the Masters entering a city, "which," he truly says, "is no parallel at all." But he omits the number of monks who are said to have surrounded Gotamo, viz., one thousand,—a round number, doubtless, but indicative of quite a company to walk into a capital, with a Brahmin youth at their head chanting a pean. Considering that a rising sect were the guests of a king, I think the entry was decidedly one of triumph, while the reply of Sakko to the people, that he was the [royal] attendant of Buddha (also omitted by Aiken) savors somewhat of "the king that cometh," &c. As I have pointed out, too, in my note, there is a curious verbal likeness between the Greek and the Pāli of the two refrains. Dr. Aiken says that the story "is not found in the most ancient forms of the Buddha-legend, and is entirely unknown to the Northern school." But it occurs in the canonical Pāli of the Mahāvaggo, one of the oldest Buddhist documents, and is found in Chinese in the Madhyamāgama, Sūtra 62.

I repeat that what we are looking for is not words, but ideas. Thus, Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 81,) draws a parallel between the

Buddhist practise of *sati* (i. e. doing everything with full consciousness) and the Christian one of doing all to the glory of God. To the theologian [or the mere Sanskrit grammarian] this is no parallel at all, but to a psychologist like Rhys Davids it is one. Dr. Aiken has not made sufficient use of the Pāli Canon; and I hope that when his work goes into a second edition, he will avail himself of our present material.

I wish to thank the venerable Ellis Yarnall [1817-1905] who, since 1889, has allowed me to use the Philadelphia (Franklin) Library in his name; and Professor Morris Jastrow, who has been instrumental in giving me full access to that of the University of Pennsylvania.

I also thank all those who have helpt me, not forgetting the fair wielders of that convenient instrument, the type-writer. Many of the present Parallels have appeared in *The Open Court*, beginning with August, 1898. Those headed *Healing the Sick* and *The Mental Origin of Disease* are reprinted by permission of the editor of *Freedom*, a weekly paper formerly publisht at Sea-Breeze, Florida, where they first appeared: December 27th, 1899, and January 24th, 1900.

In the transliteration of Pāli names, I still prefer Neumann's practise of retaining the masculine nominative in o: e. g., *Ānando*, instead of *Ānanda*. As Neumann says, the ending in *a* is neither Sanskrit nor Pāli, but Elu. My single exception is the name of *Buddha*, properly *Buddho*. But the

former is now an English word. To Neumann's defense of his practise may be added the universal rule of European languages to represent classical names in the nominative case. The first people to transliterate Hindu names into a European alphabet were the Greeks, and they used the nominative case: e. g., 'Ερᾶννοβοας = Hiranyabāhas. Take away the case-ending, and the identification is incomplete. Not only so, but the o-termination brings out the likeness of Pāli to Spanish and Italian.(6) Lastly, it is confusing to an outsider to see the *a* termination, for he associates it with the Latin feminine (unless he have the good fortune to know Anglo-Saxon.) Except the name of Buddha, therefore, my Pāli words ending in *a* are neuters, with the terminal nasal elided, or else they are masculines in composition, e. g. *Dīgha*, for Dīgha-Nikāyo. As Sanskrit names have gained greater currency among us than Pāli, I leave them in their contracted form: e. g. Aṣvaghosha for Aṣvaghoshas.

(6) Edwin Arnold has set his seal upon the poetic value of the o-ending in the line :

“The Buddha died, the great Tathāgato.”

Had he written “Tathāgata,” the line would have lost its melody. As I am often asked what is the source of Arnold's poem, I may here state that he tells us himself: viz., Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (1853), a work founded not upon Pāli, but upon Singhalese treatises, wherein text and commentary are hopelessly mixt. It is therefore impossible to ascertain the early form of any legend from Arnold, and his work is only valuable as poetry. Hardy is valuable when used with discrimination.

The Four Great Nikāyos are quoted by their English names, thus:—

Long Collection=Dīgha-Nikāyo.

Middling Collection=Majjhima-Nikāyo.

Classified Collection=Samyutta-Nikāyo.

Numerical Collection=Anguttara-Nikāyo.

Other portions of the Canon are cited thus:—

Major Section on Discipline=Mahāvaggo.

Minor “ “ “ =Cullavaggo.

Book of Temptations=Māra-Samyuttam (in the Classified Collection).

Short Recital=Khuddaka-Pāṭho.

Hymns of the Faith=Dhammapadam.

Collection of Suttas=Sutta-Nipāto.

Enunciations=Udānam.

Logia-Book=Itivuttakam.

Birth-Stories=Jātakam.

Statement of Theses=Kathā-Vatthu.

I prefer to quote the number of the Sutta or Nipāto rather than the page of the London edition, because then my references are equally good for the King of Siam's edition, European translations, or the palm-leaves themselves.

Passages quoted from other writers are in the usual type, in quotation marks [except sacred canonical texts, which in the fourth edition are now in heavy type]. The practise of putting interesting matter into small type is not a good one. Italics are used to point out important passages.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a loving tribute,

first to my father, Thomas Edmunds, who died in 1880, and secondly to Frederick Dawson Stone, late Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but for whom this work could never have been done. My father generously allowed me to follow my bent, while it was Dr. Stone who endowed me with TIME, which is dearer to the scholar than lucre, dearer even than life. In garret or in library, my studies have been pursued amid all the vicissitudes of a quarter of a century of human existence. I have often been at sea in my investigations, not knowing whither I was sailing; but the Gospels, Christian and Buddhist, have been my guiding-star, and the study of them my ruling passion; while such men as Frederick Stone have made it possible for me to study at all, or even to live. Finally, my motto has been: BUY THE TRUTH AND SELL IT NOT

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania:
1900-1904.

8. JAPANESE EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

It was in the last Spring that a letter reached me from Philadelphia expressing a warm sympathy with my unpublished studies on the Sagātha-vaggo of the *Samyutta Nikāyo*. Albert J. Edmunds, a name before unknown to me, was the sender of the letter. He had a book on the Gospel Parallels from the Pāli Scriptures which found no publisher and part of which the author had published at his own expense. My paper on the Sagātha-vaggo was read before the XII International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, but the research in detail could find no publisher. These circumstances were the first bonds which connected our mutual sympathy. But as our correspondence went on, it became manifest that our sympathy did depend not merely upon these outer circumstances but more upon the same spiritual tendency and the psychical current flowing between us, notwithstanding difference of races and distance of abodes.

My interest in the little book, (1) a partial publication of Edmunds' work, and my eagerness to find out common elements between the Pāli Nikāyos and the Chinese Āgamas aroused in me a desire to publish the whole of the work with parallels and notes from the latter. The book now published is the result.

(1) Anesaki means my second edition (1904).

---A. J. E.

The Āgamas and the Nikāyos, the one translated into Chinese but neglected by the Buddhists of the North for a thousand years, and the other kept carefully by the Buddhists of the South in its original Pāli, meet here again printed side by side in Chinese and in English respectively. It seems to me an undeniable fact that the Pāli Nikāyos and the Chinese Āgamas were derived from the same source. Comparative study of these two branches of tradition will throw some light on the original construction or content of the Buddhist Scriptures, and consequently on their history. If this present edition of Edmunds' work may contribute one brick to the large edifice of further study of the history of Buddhism my labor thereon will not remain without its reward.

As to the relations or relative positions of the two greatest religions of the world, Buddhism and Christianity, there remains much to be studied and to be thought. I shall be contented with saying that they have still their futures and that they must recognize each other. America, the western extremity of Christendom and Christian civilization, and Japan, the eastmost country with a long history of eastern civilization, are now confronted face to face on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. If these two nations could contribute conjointly something to the civilization of the twentieth century, would it not be on the line of mutual understanding between the two religions and the two cultures founded upon them? Europeans will smile at a

thought like this. But I venture to say that the Atlantic Ocean, no more than the Mediterranean Sea, is any longer the lake of the civilized world. Buddha must be recognized in his significance side by side with Christ; Nāgārjuna with Augustin; Tāo-süen with Francis of Assisi; the paintings of the Takuma school with those of the Quattrocentisti. I wish this publication may give help to the mutual understanding of both peoples, western and eastern, Christian and Buddhist.

It was my thought to print the Chinese parallels translated into English. But most of them are too similar to the Pāli to be translated. I have added some notes to those passages which differ so much from the Pāli as to be noticed. The texts which agree with the Pāli as a whole book, sutta or sūtra, are called corresponding texts, **C. T.** (2) Those

(2) In the fourth edition, the Chinese characters are omitted, but the following references are to be understood :—

C. T. for the Long Collection means the Chinese Dīrghāgama (Nanjio's Catalog, No. 545), translated by Buddhayaças, A. D. 412-413.

Middling Collection (Chinese Madhyamāgama (N. C. No. 542), translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva, A. D. 397-398.

Classified Collection, Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (N. C. No. 544), translated by Guṇabhadra, A. D. 420-479.

Numerical Collection, Chinese Ekottarāgama

which agree in single passages, but not as a whole, are called corresponding passages, **C. P.** Besides these two categories, similar passages, **S. P.**, mean those found in different texts and not quite agreeing with the Pāli. Those Chinese words not found in the Pāli are omitted mostly and marked with Sometimes, when these passages are necessary to

(N. C. No. 543), translated by Dharmanandin, A. D. 384-385.

Hymns of the Faith (Dhammapada) translated by several hands, A. D. 224 (N. C. 1365.)

Logia Book (Itivuttaka) translated by Yuan Chwan, A. D. 645-664 (N. C. No. 714.)

The Books of Discipline appear in Chinese in various sectarian recensions, and are indicated separately. It must be understood that the post-Christian Chinese books referred to in my second Preface (1904) are the new literature called Mahāyāna. These Chinese Hīnayāna translations agree closely with the Pāli texts.

The dates given above are from Professor Anesaki's Japanese book on Buddhism (Tōkyō, 1904.) References in our notes to "Anesaki's book" mean this work. His list of Pāli and Sanskrit texts therein is in Roman letters, and the dates of the Chinese ones are in Hindu* numerals.

—A. J. E.

*Commonly called Arabic, whereby we do an injustice to the Hindūs, from whom the Arabs borrowed them.

the context, they are printed in square brackets []. A line — means a place where there is a passage in the Pāli but not in the Chinese. N. C. means Nanjio's Catalog and the references are given after the Japanese edition of 1880-1885 which has a very good arrangement of the whole Tripitaka (see Nanjio, p. xxvi and Takakusu's Chestomathy, p. ii, note 2).

My English was printed as it was written down by me. [In the fourth edition it has been revised by the Author].

Finally I express my gratitude to the Author of the book that he has allowed this edition of a life-work of his to be published here.

ANESAKI MASAHAIR.

Tōkyō, Good Friday,
April 21st, 1905.

9. EXTRACT FROM THE EDITOR'S
LETTER OF TRANSMISSION,
written during the Battle of the Japan Sea.

Tōkyō, May 28, 1905.

MY DEAR EDMUNDS :

To-day, on our Empress's birthday, I got five
copies of our book. Errata will be printed later.
I send you one copy as specimen. * * *

The Baltic Fleet is approaching us. Every
one is excited. When this letter reaches you, the
battle will have been long before fought and our
fate decided. Nobody but Heaven knows the fate
now. (1) * * *

Yours ever,

M. ANESAKI.

(1) This was Sunday, the second day of the Asiatic
Salamis, and the outcome was already known to the combatants.

—A. J. E.

10. THE PĀLI AND SANSKRIT ALPHABET ROMANIZED

Pāli was written before Sanskrit, tho linguistically younger. Two alphabets are used for it in the Asokan Inscriptions, B. C. 250. To-day it is written in the different native scripts of Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia, while the London Pāli Text Society and European and American scholars generally use Roman letters thus:—

VOWELS

a the commonest sound of **A**, as in *America* and in the indefinite article **a** when not emphatic.

ā the vowel in *father*

i “ “ “ *print*

ī “ “ “ *machine*

u “ “ “ *push*

ū “ “ “ *brute*

e “ “ “ *there*

o “ “ “ *cold*

PURE NASAL

m (also written *m* and *ṁ*)

CONSONANTS

Gutturals

k kh g gh ṅ (The last is the throat nasal, like **n** in *think*, **ng** in *thing*, in our confused spelling).

Palatals

c ch j jh ñ (**c** is the English **ch**, **ñ** the Spanish **ñ** in *cañon*.)

Cerebrals

t th d dh n (Also written in italics).

Dentals

t th d dh n

Labials

p ph b bh m

Liquids

y r l v

Sibilants

s h

For Sanskrit, add **ai, au, ç, sh**, a cerebral **l**, two vocalic **r**'s (long and short) and a vocalic **l**.

General Rule.—Vowels as in Italian; consonants as in English. The cerebrals are approximately as in English, the dentals as in Irish.

II. ABBREVIATIONS

S. B. E. Sacred Books of the East. Edited by F. Max Müller. 49 vols. Oxford, 1879-1904. [Vol. X contains the *Dhammapada* Hymns and the Collection of Suttas (*Sutta-Nipāto*), quoted here from second edition, 1898. Vol. XI, Dialogs Nos. 13, 16 and 17 of the Long Collection; Nos. 2, 6 and 16 of the Middling Collection, together with Buddha's First Sermon. Vols. XIII, XVII and XX contain the Major and Minor Sections of Discipline. All other Buddhist translations in the S. B. E. are of later age.]

Dialogs. Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. 1. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids. London, 1899. [Long Collection, Nos. 1-13.]

Neumann. Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's aus der Mittleren Sammlung, Majjhima-Nikāyo, des Pāli-Kanons, zum ersten Mal übersetzt. Von Karl E. Neumann. Leipzig, 1896-1902, 3 vols. [The Middling Collection in German.]

Warren. Buddhism in Translations. By Henry Clarke Warren. Harvard University, 1896. [Contains parts of Long Collection, Nos. 11, 15 and 22; Middling Collection, Nos. 26, 63 and 72; and much from other parts of the Pāli Canon and Commentaries.]

Grimblot. Sept Suttas Pālis. Par P. Grimblot. Paris, 1876. [Long Collection, Nos. 1, 2, 10, 15, 20, 31, 32, in Pāli; with translations, mostly in English by Gogerly.]

Oldenberg. Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order. By Hermann Oldenberg. Translated by William Hoey. London, 1882.

Windisch. Māra und Buddha. Von Ernst Windisch. Leipzig, 1895. [Contains the whole of the Book of Temptations (Māra-Samyutta) in German.]

Open Court. Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts. Translated from the originals, by Albert J. Edmunds. Chicago: February, April, June and October, 1900; January and July, 1901; September and November, 1902; April and December, 1903. See also August and November, 1898; June, 1899. [The whole of Midling Collection, Nos. 86 and 123 are among these, except stanzas at the end of 86. In *The Buddhist*, July, 1901 (Colombo, Ceylon) No. 86 is translated from a Singhalese gloss.]

DEDICATED
to my whole-souled editor,
PROFESSOR ANESAKI,
OF TŌKYŌ

Historical Introduction

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PĀLI TEXTS

The unhistorical character of most things Hindū does not apply to the religion of Gotamo. Asoko, the Buddhist Constantine, upon three different rocks, in different parts of India, and in two different alphabets, has engraved the names of five Greek Kings to whom he sent ambassadors: (1) viz., Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. These five kings could only be reigning all at once between B. C. 252 and 258. The first was Antiochus Theos, who reigned at Antioch from B. C. 262 to 247. The second was the celebrated Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned at Alexandria from B. C. 285 to 247, and was the founder or expander of the Alexandrine Library. The other kings were Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon, B. C. 278-239; Magas of Cyrene, 308-258; and Alexander of Epirus, 272-219. Now, two of these kings were patrons of learning: Antigonus attended the lectures of Zeno the Stoic, (2) and Ptolemy caused

(1) Edict 13. Cunningham: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. London, 1879. Senart: *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*. Paris, 1881-1886. 2 vols. Vincent A. Smith: *Asoka*. London, 1901. The present passage was written before this excellent book appeared.

(2) Diogenes Laërtius, *Vitae Philosophorum* VII. 8.

the Pentateuch to be translated into Greek. His librarian, according to Epiphanius, was anxious to translate also the books of the Hindūs.(3) Asoko declares, in the same edict, that he has made a "religious conquest," not only in India, but in the dominions of the five Greek kings, as well as in Ceylon; and that in all these countries his religion is being accepted. In Edict 2, he informs us that over the same territory he has caused wells to be dug and medicinal herbs to be planted, for the sake of man and beast. Now the Ceylon Chronicles confirm the inscriptions, and record that he sent Buddhist missionaries into Ceylon, Cashmere, and the realm of the Greeks. In Ceylon the religion has persisted to this day, with all its texts and commentaries; in Cashmere it has dwindled into corrupt insignificance, while in the ancient empire of the Greeks it has left no records, except in monuments and coins in the Panjāb and Afghanistan. These are proof enough that the absence of sacred texts in any country by no means implies that Buddhism was never there. We may therefore reasonably conclude that Asoko's "religious conquest" did at least number some votaries in Athens, Antioch and Alexandria. If, however, the mission was not lasting in its results, it was not the fault of either side. On the one hand was a proselytizing Buddhist emperor, and on the other hand were

(3) Epiphan. de Mens. et Pond. 9. I owe this reference and some others to Estlin Carpenter. (*Nineteenth Century*: December, 1880.) All have been verified.

kings who studied philosophy and translated what they could find of the Sacred Books of the East.

The Pāli Texts were in existence, at least orally, in the time of Asoko. On the rock at Bairāt in Rājputāna, Asoko recommends to the study of monks, nuns and laymen seven different portions of Scripture.(4) The titles of five of these can be identified with certainty in the Sutta-Pitakam to-day.(5) A sixth can be identified with reasonable assurance in the Vinaya-Pitakam ; while the remaining one, which stands first in the list, is entitled *The Exaltation of the Discipline (Vinayo)*. This, as I have shown elsewhere, is probably the First Sermon, with some introductory matter. The peculiar word, translated *Exaltation*, is found in an adjectival form in a stereotyped phrase of the Pāli texts.(6)

According to the Ceylon Chronicles, Asoko called a Council of the Order, whereat the Canon was apparently closed. Its latest treatise, the *Statement of*

(4) Asoko's word for *Portions of Scripture* or *Expositions of Doctrine* is used repeatedly in the Pāli texts to mean a discourse of Gotamo's, and it occurs in one of these very portions selected by Asoko, viz., the *Question of Upatisso* (Mahāvaggo I. 23.) The phrase (with dialectical variations) was long perpetuated, and we find it repeatedly in the late patristic *Lotus*.

(5) Rhys Davids: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1898 ; also *Manual of Buddhism*, edition of 1899, pp. 224, 225.

(6) E. g. Udāna V. 3. For my identification of the Vinaya-samukkamsa, see *The Light of Dharma*: San Francisco, April and July, 1904.

Theses, was then promulgated,(7) while the president of the Council taught Asoko's son the five Nikāyos, the Higher Doctrine and the Discipline: that is, the three divisions of the Canon. The Island Chronicle, which tells us this, is at least older than the fifth century after Christ, while in substance it is centuries older still. Its trustworthiness is confirmed not only by Asoko's missionary inscriptions, as we have seen, but also by the discovery of a sarcophagus at Sāñcī, in the heart of India, bearing the legend: "Majjhimo the apostle of the Himālayas." Now the Ceylon Chronicles state that this very Majjhimo was the missionary sent by Asoko to this region. Other inscriptions, confirmatory of Buddhist Scriptures and records, were discovered in 1897 and 1898.(8) The former, by Asoko, marks the place where Buddha was born, mentioning the name of Lumbinī, which is found in the sacred texts.(9) The other inscription, found in 1898, is older than Asoko, and confirms the Book of the Great Decease on the division of the Sage's relics.(10)

(7) *Pakāsaya* and *desesi* are the words used. I adopt the conclusion of Oldenberg and others, that these words mean "publisht for the first time."

(8) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1898, p. 533.

(9) S. B. E., Vol. X, part 2, p. 125.

(10) S. B. E., Vol. XI., p. 132. The statement, in the Pāli, that the Sākyas made a mound like the rest, is omitted in the translation on p. 134. See Rhys Davids' note in J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 588. See Anesaki's book, p. 194.

Shortly after the death of Asoko, about B. C. 200, was built the great rail around the tope of Bharahat in Central India.(11) Upon this rail, in addition to Scriptural titles, there are the names of pious Buddhists who are described as “reciters,” “versed in the Dialogs,” “versed in the Baskets,” and “versed in the Five Collections.”(12.) Of these Five Collections or *Nikāyos* (also called *Āgamas*) four are mentioned by name in the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit work emanating from a different school from the one represented by the Pāli texts. In Chinese versions the whole four have been handed down in literary form, and bear sufficient resemblance to their Pāli namesakes to show that both recensions have a common source.(13)

The Ceylon Chronicles affirm that the Canon was reduced to writing in that island about 40 B.C., having been transmitted for four hundred years by schools of reciters. Now we have sufficient outside testimony from travelers of different nations—Chinese, Arab and English—that manuscripts were copied in Ceylon from the fifth century downwards. Robert Knox, the Englishman, saw the monks

(11) Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. London, 1876, p. 85. Cunningham: The Stupa of Bharhut (Bharahat). London, 1879: Pillar 85, and Rails 41 and 52, &c.

(12) With the *Seṭṭakāṇḍo* of Bharahat, compare the *Tēpitako* of *Milindo*, p. 19; also *Tipetako* in Buddhaghoso's introduction to the Vinayo, p. 313, and *Tipitakadharo*, *ibid.*, p. 299.

(13) Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, by Bunyiu Nanjio. Oxford, 1883, Column 127.

writing the sacred texts on palm-leaves in the seventeenth century. Abū-zaid, the Muslim, compiling the travels of Arab merchants of the ninth century, uses the remarkable words: "The Kingdom of Ceylon (Serendib) has a law, and doctors who assemble from time to time, just as the persons who collect the traditions of the Prophet have reunions among us. The Indians betake themselves to doctors and write, under their dictation, the life of their prophets and the precepts of their law." (14) Fā Hien, the Chinaman, in the fifth century, spent three years in Ceylon copying MSS., and took them to China. We can therefore credit the chronicles of the island, and trust them when they say that the sacred texts were first written down about 40 B. C.

The schools of reciters, who preceded the scribes, are mentioned in inscriptions of the third or second century B. C. at Bharahat. They also occur in *The Questions of King Milindo*—that book which I call the Buddhist Irenæus—as well as in the ancient commentaries and in the Canon itself. King Milindo has been identified with the Greek Menander, who reigned in the Panjāb one hundred years before Christ. The work itself roundly fixes his date at five hundred years after Gotamo's decease. As most ancient Buddhists, except Asoko and the Ceylon Chronicles, deal with centuries and

(14) Abū-zaid, translated by Reinaud in 1845 (after Renaudot, 1718) and edited by Chardon: *Voyageurs anciens et modernes*: Paris, 1869, Tom. 2, p. 143.

not with years, the date in question roughly corresponds to the first century of the Christian era. *The Milindo-Questioning* is quoted by Buddhaghoso in the fifth century A. D., and must therefore be dated between Menander and him. The book itself, when alluding to Gotamo's prophecy that his religion would last only five hundred years, does not betray any consciousness that it had lasted longer, and may be reasonably fixt at the time of the Flavian Emperors. Moreover, the fact that this very prediction has come down unaltered in the canonical Discipline, while it has been changed to five thousand in post-Christian commentaries, (15) is in favor of a pre-Christian origin for the text. When the five hundred years had expired, and yet the religion was making new conquests in China, it became expedient for Buddhist Fathers to add a cipher to Gotamo's five hundred. Returning to *Milindo* we may say that, as the New Testament is immanent in the pages of Irenæus, so are the Pāli Pitakas in the pages of *Milindo*. Before Irenæus (A. D. 190) our quotations from the Gospels are fragmentary and inexact—not enough to prove by themselves that any Gospel existed in its present form; tho, taken together with Tatian's Diatesaron, they prove it by cumulative evidence, especially the quotations of Justin Martyr, who was Tatian's master. In the same way, no Buddhist book earlier than the Christian era and outside the

(15) E. g., the commentary on the Long Collection and the Great Chronicle of Ceylon.

Canon betrays the complete existence of the latter so plainly as do the *Questions of King Milindo*. Then again, by the time of this work, there were several Buddhist Diatessarons, such as the *Lalita Vistara* which, however, may be better compared to an apocryphal Gospel based on canonical ones. *Milindo's* quotations from the Pāli texts are numerous, explicit and exact. Moreover, this work of an unknown Buddhist Father, besides mentioning those versed in the Dialogs, versed in the Discipline and versed in the Higher Doctrine, speaks also of reciters of the Birth-Stories and of each of the Five Nikāyos (collections of Dialogs.)

In the period between the committal to writing, about 40 B. C., and the Christian era, we have an interesting side-light thrown upon the transmission of the sacred books in Ceylon by the following passage in the *History of the Religion* (*Sāsanavamsa*, a Burmese work of the nineteenth century, founded on older sources :—“Thereafter, in the time of the king named Nāgo the Robber, when the whole of Ceylon was vexed by the fear of bad monks, the monks who kept up (literally *carried*) the Three Baskets, went to India. Those monks who did not go thither, but stayed at home, being vexed by the fear of famine, tightened their waist-bands, encased their bellies in sand, and kept up the Three Baskets.

“Then, in the time of King Kutakannatisso, when the fear of bad monks was appeased, the monks came back from India, and, together with the monks who had stayed in Ceylon, they recon-

ciled the Three Baskets with the [recension of the] Great Minster; and when [the two] were made harmonious, they establisht them. Then, when they were establisht, they kept them up well in Ceylon only."

In the book of Discipline there is a document which I will call the Council Appendix. It is found in English at page 370 of Vol. XX. of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Now this Appendix knows of the Second Council of the Order one hundred years after the Great Decease, but not of the Third Council in the time of Asoko. Moreover, it knows of only two divisions of the Canon, viz., Doctrine and Discipline, but not of the third, viz., Higher Doctrine. Now, the last was among the *Antilegomena*, (16) of the Second Council, while, as we have seen, an entire treatise was added to it in the time of Asoko. These facts argue a later date for the Higher Doctrine and an early date for the Council Appendix, which knows nothing about it. The Appendix represents that the Canon was fixt after the death of Gotamo by learned monks who knew certain portions by heart. To those who doubt whether any body of doctrine could be as safely transmitted by schools of reciters as by the texts of conflicting manuscripts, I commend the

(16) *Antilegomena*, i. e. books in dispute, is an early Christian name for seven books in the New Testament, whose canonicity was debated for three hundred years: Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation. We here apply the term to Buddhist books.

perusal of Max Müller's remarks on the memories of Oriental and primitive peoples in his *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. The Pāli texts inform us that Gotamo's discourses and rules of discipline were learnt by heart and chanted in chorus by his immediate disciples, during his long ministry of five and forty years.(17) The Council Appendix confirms the numerous statements in the older texts by representing that Gotamo's intimate attendant, Ānando, was the great authority for the Dialogs, and Upāli his master of the Discipline. The monks who fixt the Canon under their instruction were careful to *revise corruptions of the text*. (18)

The mention of a Greek kingdom in Sutta 93 of the Middling Collection does not prove any more than that certain dialogs, *in their present literary form*, must be later than Alexander, or even than the founding of the Græco-Bactrian empire about 250 B. C. Now the latter is the age of Asoko, whose Panjāb Edict uses the precise name (Yona-Kambojo) found in the Middling Collection, which has the longer form (Yonaka-Kambojo). We have already seen that the Statement of Theses was doubtless edited in the same age, as it was also re-

(17) See, for example, S.B.E. XIII., p. 305 ; XX., p. 6.

(18) So I translate the words: *Khandaphullam patisaṇ-kharimsu*, which Davids and Oldenberg render: "repaired dilapidation." (S.B.E. XX, p, 373.) Childers gives an example of the use of the former word which associates it with Scriptural or textual integrity.

edited in Ceylon in the fifth century after Christ ;(19) but this does not upset the high antiquity of the ancient nuclei of the Canon. Copleston has gone too far in relegating the Book of the Great Decease to the age of Asoko on account of the mention of an Emperor (*Cakkavatti*) and of topes. But the idea of an Indian Emperor by no means began with Asoko or even with Candagutto, but goes back to the Great Epic, and to the earlier parts of it at that. The *Dharmarājā*, or king by right, is an ancient ideal of suzerainty over all India. Then, as to the topes, we know from the Divyāvadāna that, while Asoko built temples to mark sacred sites, yet rudimentary mounds or topes existed thereat already.

From the first Christian century onward a stream of missionaries and translators went from India to China, where they rendered the sacred writings into Chinese. At first the new Mahāyāna works, then in the ascendant, were the favorites for translation; but in A. D. 149 a Parthian prince, probably the son of Vologeses II, who died that year, renounced his kingdom, turned Buddhist, and went to China, where he translated Hīnayāna works. Ancient catalogs credit to him 176 distinct translations, whereof fifty-five are extant. Of these fifty-five, forty-three are Hīnayāna.(20) If we could have these books in a European language and com-

(19) Great Chronicle, reign of Dhātuseno: "Like Asoko the Righteous, he made a recension of the Three Baskets."

(20) Nanjio: Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka: Oxford, 1883, Appendix II.; Beal: Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 7.

pare them with the Pāli, much light would be thrown on the history of the text, for several of his versions are identical with Pāli Suttas. Masahar Anesaki is now engaged upon this important work.

One of the strongest arguments for the antiquity of the Buddhist Scriptures is the known date of the earliest Chinese versions. Samuel Beal, in his *Catena* (1871) thus set it forth :—

“The Sūtra named the ‘Forty-two Sections,’ which is of a purely ethical character, was brought to China in its present form about A. D. 70. This fact can admit of no dispute, for it is recorded in the annals of the country, and a temple was built in memory of it, an account of which is given at large in a well known and authentic work, called the *History of the Lo Yang Temples*. It is only reasonable, then, to suppose, if this work were so well known in India at the time of the first Chinese embassy, viz., 64 A. D., as to be thought the most proper for translation, in order to exhibit the doctrines of the religion about to be introduced into the country, that it was reduced to the written form in India at an earlier period; and therefore we cannot be far wrong if we give it an age at least as great as the beginning of the Christian era. But, in the first section of this work, the existence of the 250 Rules of the Prātimoksha, or the Rules of Conventual Discipline, is plainly referred to; so that we must assume that these Rules were well known and generally accepted at the time of the composition of the Sūtra; and we are thus carried back to

a still earlier date for the reduction of these Rules to their present number and form." (21)

Much work has yet to be done in critical analysis of the Buddhist books. Our knowledge of them is behind the knowledge of the New Testament at the end of the eighteenth century. After a hundred years of hard work by Pāli scholars, we may hope to arrive at a scientific understanding of the Buddhist Holy Writ such as we are now arriving at as regards the Christian. One of the first things to be done will be to tabulate all passages which the different recensions have in common. This work was begun by Burnouf in 1852, when his hand was arrested by death.(22) He was showing that certain fundamental statements about the life and powers of Gotamo were found in verbal agreement (except for dialectical differences) in Pāli MSS. from Ceylon and Sanskrit ones from Nepal. These MSS. represented entirely different literary works, and yet every now and then both literatures would contain certain passages identically the same. Now, the Tibetans tell us that four rival schools and their subordinate sects recited the Confessional in four different languages, viz., Sanskrit and three dialects.(23) We know from the Ceylon sects named

(21) Prof. Max Müller has shown also that the Dhammapada speaks of the Prātimoksha as an old established code. Dhammapada, § 185, n. [Note by Beal.]

(22) *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*. Paris, 1852, p. 859.

(23) Burnouf: *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*. Ed. 1876, p. 397.

under the last of these four schools that their dialect was the Pāli. Now, when we consider that the Pāli and Sanskrit recensions have been transmitted by rival sects, their fundamental agreements must go back to an antiquity behind both. We will give here in English the first of Burnouf's parallel texts :—(24)

A glorious report like this has gone abroad: They say he is indeed the Blessed, Holy and absolute Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, an incomparable charioteer of men who are tamed, the Master of angels and mortals, the Blessed Buddha. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge, he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples. He preaches his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at its climax, and glorious in its end, in the spirit and the letter. He proclaims a religious life wholly perfect and thoroly pure.

Now, this passage, like all Burnouf's parallels, occurs not once, but many times, in the Pāli Canon. Indeed it will probably be found that all Pāli doublets are fundamental primitive documents. Such are certainly the legends of the Nativity, as I have pointed out before.(25) The best way, there-

(24) Burnouf cites it from the Long Collection, but it also occurs in the Book of Discipline, where it will be found at least twice in English. (*Mahāvaggo* I. 22, and VI. 34, S. B. E. XIII. and XVII.)

(25) Open Court: Chicago, June, 1899.

fore, to begin our proposed tabulation of parallel passages in different recensions will be first to draw up a list of Pāli stock passages; then call upon the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan scholars to furnish the corresponding ones in their respective versions. When it is proven that the sects who have transmitted these passages have lived apart and used different languages since the first or second century of Buddhism,(26) we shall then be able to compile with certainty the original New Testament of Gotamo.(27)

(26) I. e. the fourth and third centuries before Christ.

(27) This section of my work was written and rewritten before seeing Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha* (London, 1899.) His valuable preface covers the same ground. The principal point he makes beyond the matter common to both of us, is the use made of the Canon by the *Statement of Theses* in the third century B. C. This early date, however, rests upon traditions which first meet us in the fourth century A. D., and it is consequently contested by Barth and other scholars. We may have to bring down the Higher Doctrine (Abhidhammo) to a later period.

2. PLACE OF THE NATIVITY SUTTAS IN THE CANON

As these accounts have hitherto been suspected of lateness, a special inquiry shall be made regarding their antiquity. The first of them, the *Nālaka Sutta*, is the eleventh out of twelve discourses, constituting the Great Section of the Sutta-Nipāto, which has been declared by two such eminent Pāli scholars as Oldenberg and Fausböll(1) to be one of the most archaic in the Canon. So ancient is it that a commentary on the second part of it is included among the canonical books, and so far back as the second century after the demise of Gotamo, we find this commentary's canonicity called in question by a powerful party at the Council of Vesāli.(2) Unfortunately this commentary (*the Niddeso*) does not begin until the third dialog after the Nālaka, so that it does not support the text of the latter. But the Nālaka Sutta is quoted in *The Questions of King Milindo*, while its story is used in the Jātaka commentary and in early patristic poems like the Buddha-Carita.(3) The Jātaka commentary, in its present form, is not older than the fifth century A. D., but both *Milindo* and the poem of Aṣva-ghosha date from the first or second. The Nālaka Sutta is also mentioned in Buddhaghoso's list of

(1) Oldenberg, *Buddha : Sein Leben &c.* Ed. 2 : Berlin, 1890, p. 223; Ed. 4 : 1903, pp. 234-235. Fausböll S. B. E. Vol. X., part 2, p. XI.

(2) *Island Chronicle* V. 37.

(3) S. B. E. XLIX., p. 10.

contents of the ancient Nine Members of the Canon —another fifth-century document, based upon antecedents of unknown antiquity. The Nālaka Dialog is translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X, but the learned Danish translator will not begrudge a new version at the hands of one whose mother-tongue is English.

Our second Nativity Sutta, the *Dialog on Wonders and Marvels*, is No. 123 in the Middling Collection, that second of the Sutta Collections which contains 152 of Gotamo's discourses of medium length. Now, No. 61 of this Collection is among the titles engraved by Asoko upon the Bairāt Rock, already noticed, while the whole Collection existed certainly at the time of the Milindo book, judging from the frequent quotations from it, and even at the date of the Council Appendix, which says that Ānando was questioned concerning the Five Collections. But a more specific witness can be called for our particular Nativity Sutta in the sculptures at Bharahat. On Pillar 89 there is pictured the incarnation of Buddha: his mother, lying asleep, is dreaming of the White Elephant descending from heaven to enter her womb. The legend reads:

BHAGAVATO OKRANTI: (*The Descent of the Lord.*)

Now, the oldest sacred authority for the story of this descent from heaven is our present Sutta, while the added detail about the mother's dream of the elephant is uncanonical: it is found in the

Jātaka commentary.(4) If the commentary matter is as old as the third century before Christ, *a fortiori* the text is.

The Dialog on Wonders and Marvels was first translated by me (tho not very correctly) in *The Open Court* (Chicago) for August, 1898,(5) with corrective and critical notes in November, 1898, and June, 1899. In the latter note I traced quotations from the Nativity Sutta in other parts of the Pāli Canon. The Nativity Suttas, I there said, lie behind the Lalita Vistara and other early poems and commentaries. They probably constituted one of the ancient Nine Members of the Canon called *Marvels*. In the Chinese Āgamas there is an entire section of the Middling Collection with this title, and the sūtra that opens it is this very Nativity legend. (No. 32=Pāli 123.)

Together with the Sambodhi, the First Sermon, the Chain of Causation, the Confessional, the Antinomies of the sophists, and the Book of the Great Decease, the Nativity legends rank among those prime documents of the religion around which all recensions rally.

Moreover a longer form of the Dialog on Wonders and Marvels, is found in the Long Collection, No. 14 (No. 1 in the Chinese.) The portion relating to the Nativity agrees nearly verbatim with

(4) Warren : *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 43.

(5) To the details given of previous notices of the Dialog in English I should have added Rhys Davids' *American Lectures* (1896).

its companion of the Middling Collection. The slight variants are, as Rhys Davids points out in a similar case, the various readings of the school of reciters who transmitted the Long Collection. I have translated this important portion in a separate form. (6)

(6) The Marvelous Birth of the Buddhas. By Albert J. Edmunds. Philadelphia, 1899; second edition, 1903, pp. vii + 13.

3. THE DATE OF THE SUTTA NIPĀTO

Fausböll, in his introduction to the first European text of the Sutta-Nipāto, considers some parts of it later than the Christian era, and that the story of Asito has been borrowed from the Gospel of Luke. This introduction was written at Copenhagen in 1885, and much research has been made since then. We are now in a position to show that the Sutta-Nipāto, in all its parts, was already old at the time of Christ.

In Asoko's rock-written list of favorite Buddhist Scriptures (about B. C. 250) is one which he calls Moneya Sute, Discourse on Asceticism. This corresponds to the Pāli Moneyya Suttam. Now, Rhys Davids identifies this with a short paragraph bearing that title in the Itivuttaka, and Oldenberg with a similar one in the Anguttara-Nikāyo. But neither of these was so well known as the Sutta-Nipāto's Discourse on Asceticism,⁽¹⁾ which is connected with the legend of Asito and his nephew Nālako, and is called the Nālaka-sutta. Here I agree with Neumann, who prefers this identification. The Sutta-Nipāto's Discourse contains the Golden Rule and the verse about still waters running deep: it is much better fitted for a popular selection than the pieces proposed by Davids and Oldenberg. The Discourse on Asceticism address to Nālako is re-

(1) This is not its formal title, but titles vary very much, and as its subject is moneyya, we are at liberty to call it a moneyya-sutta.

peated in the Mahāvastu, which has been transmitted by a rival school to that of the Elders who have given us the Sutta-Nipāto. In the latter, the story of Asito forms a setting for it. (Vatthu-gāthā, i. e. theme-verses). So we have two parts :

- A. Theme verses (the Nālaka-sutta proper, containing the Asito legend);
- B. Discourse on Asceticism
(*moneyyam*).

In A, we have the vision of Asito, the Angelic Hymn on Buddha's birth, Asito's prediction, and his injunction to his nephew Nālako to follow Buddha so soon as the latter should preach his Gospel.

In B, the nephew asks Buddha to explain moneyyam, and except the first verse, the whole sutta is Buddha's reply. A and B are in different meters. B is in the commonest meter of the Sutta-Nipāto and the Dhammapada :—

$\sim \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \sim \text{—} | \sim \text{—} |$
 or
 $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \sim | \sim \text{—} | \sim \text{—} |$

It is difficult to represent it, because of the freedom of the opening syllables, which are allowed to vary. A is in more complex meter :—

$\text{—} \text{—} \sim | \text{—} \text{—} | \sim \sim \sim \sim | \text{—} \sim | \text{—} \text{—} |$

Professor E. W. Hopkins, in his *Great Epic*,

pp. 275 and 298, calls this meter *Trishṭubh* Pāda IX, and says that it is a *mora-trishṭubh*. On p. 308, he adds: "The mora rhythm in general is early, being found not only in the Epic, but in the Upanishad and Buddhistic verse." On p. 287, he says of a similar meter: "The form is Vedic." So we need not conclude that the Asito stanzas are modern on account of their complexity. Already, when *Samyutta* V. 79 was written, the monks were warned against turning aside from solid old sūtras to run after *suttantas* "poet-made, poetic, thrilling the heart." (2) And this very text, the *Anāgata-bhayāni*, is one of Asoko's selections. Therefore, in the third century B. C., poetical books were highly developed in the Buddhist Canon.

The *Sutta-Nipāto* is a composite book, made up of five sections of different dates. Two of these sections, the *Pārāyana* and the *Aṭṭhakavaggo*, are repeatedly quoted or alluded to in the Pāli Canon itself. They are evidently older than the formal *Nikāyos*. Altho the oldest part of the *Sutta Nipāto*, they stand last, immediately after the *Mahāvaggo*, which contains the Asito legend. The *Mahāvaggo* and the rest were therefore deemed sufficiently ancient to permit of these venerable relics (the *Pārāyana* and its fellow) being transmitted together with them. (3) The section (which contains twelve suttas) opens with the *Pabbajjā* and

(2) The passage about the poet-made *suttantas* recurs in the *Anguttara* and is undoubtedly ancient.

(3) One of these ancient sections (the *Aṭṭhakavaggo*) already

Padhāna Suttas, poems on Buddha's Renunciation and Temptation. Towards the end, immediately preceding the Nālaka-sutta, stand three suttas found in the Great Nikāyos :—

7. Sela-sutta (=Majjhima 92).
9. Vāsettha-sutta (=Majjhima 98).
10. Kokāliya-sutta (=Samyutta VI. 1. 10).

Sutta No. 8 (the Salla) is a simple poem on the shortness of life, which has affinities with stanzas in Jātaka 461.

Thus, the Nālaka-sutta is in strictly Canonical company, and even if it be a later interpolation, yet the following considerations will lead us to conclude that it was ancient enough for such a setting.

In a book of Buddhist legends called Avadānas is one entitled sūtra instead of Avadāna, thus aiming at canonical rank. This is the Prātihārya Sūtra, i. e., SACRED BOOK ABOUT MIRACLES. It is also embedded in the canonical Book of Discipline of a sect whose recension of the scriptures of Buddhism has been lost in the original Pāli or Sanskrit, but preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. This Book of Miracles relates that Buddha sent forth fire and water from his person, and produced other startling phenomena to confound unbelievers. All sects did not admit the story into the Canon, for in the Pāli Book of Discipline, transmitted by the school of the

knows something of the later Savior Epic, for it contains an allusion to Māro's daughters and calls Gotamo a teacher from the Tusitā heaven.

Elders, at the very point in the text where the legend occurs in the Tibetan version, there is reported a miracle by a disciple which Buddha sternly forbade. However, albeit uncanonical according to the conservative Elders, the story is ancient and appears in Aṣvaghosha's first-century poem, while it is evidently understood in Paṭisambhidāmaggo I. 53. Moreover, it is ranked with the Canonical life-scenes in a Ceylon temple-sculpture of the second century before Christ. According to the Great Chronicle,

“The miracle under the mango-tree”

was graven upon the Great Tope at Anurādhapura, together with the incidents that follow it in the Miracle Sūtra. These sculptures are buried or destroyed, but the extant remains at Bharahat and Sāñci prove that the whole legend of Buddha's early life was already highly developed at the time of Christ.

Now, the Singhalese doctors who admitted this apocryphal story into their select life-scenes in the sculptures at Anurādhapura, excluded it from the Pāli Canon. Yet they included in this Canon the Sutta Nipāto, with its story of Asito and the Angelic Heralds. These birth-legends are also among the sculptures :—

Tusita-purato yāva

Bodhimandam tatheva ca (Mahāvamsa XXX)

The conclusion is, that these legends were already

venerable in the second century B. C., and the Ceylon doctors, who relegated to commentaries many stories which were canonized by other sects, considered these authentic.

As I have pointed out in my essay on *Buddhist Texts in John* (Philadelphia, 1906) the presence of so many birth-stories and other semi-canonical and apocryphal legends among the sculptures at Bharahat and Sāñci gives countenance to the Ceylon Great Chronicle's Anurādhapura list, and clears it from the charge of fiction.

That the Asito story is later than the Great Avadāna (Long Collection, No. 14 of the Pāli, No. 1 of the Chinese) is probable from its absence therefrom. But the whole Avadāna literature is early, albeit semi-canonical. The Avadānas (as a book by themselves) were only admitted into the Pāli Canon by one school of reciters; but their presence in later recensions of that Canon and in those of other sects entitles them to be called semi-canonical. The Realists and the Docetists evidently placed them in the Vinaya Piṭaka, while the Elders and Dharmaguptas placed them in a fifth Āgama or Nikāyo, called Short Collection and Miscellaneous Piṭaka. The Great Council Canon, which boasted that it was free from "the false additions" of the others, had no Avadānas, but only the germ thereof; for in its Miscellaneous Piṭaka was a book called Nidāna, which is described as "circumstantial notes on Pratyeka-buddhas and Arhats, in gāthā." (Suzuki). The same book also appears in the Mis-

cellaneous *Piṭaka* of the Dharmaguptas, an early branch of the Elders. This carries the book back behind the final schism at the Council of Agnimitra in the second century B. C.

This Miscellaneous (*Saṃyukta*) *Piṭaka* was a sort of Fifth *Nikāyo* appended to the Four Great *Āgamas* and containing the utterances of disciples. It is a link between the old Canon and the *Abhidharma*. Its *Pāli* form even contains a commentary, the *Niddeso*. Now, this *Niddeso* is a commentary on the two oldest books of the *Sutta-Nipāto* mentioned above, while another book, the *Paṭisambhidāmaggo*, is distinctly *Abhidharma*. But besides this patristic matter, the Fifth *Nikāyo* contains the *Itivuttaka*, once the title of a lost division of Scripture. If the *Itivuttaka* be not the words of Buddha, nothing is. It always reads to me like attestations made by hearers of Buddha to a magistrate after his death. "This was said by the Lord, said by the *Arahat*, and heard by me. . . . Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me." This is the setting of most of the terse and simple *sūtras* of the *Itivuttaka*. Now, why should the Miscellaneous *Piṭaka* contain such opposite elements as this ancient *Logia-Book* and those patristic commentaries? The answer appears to be that the *Itivuttaka* was too small to stand by itself, and too simple to be clast with the elaborated *suttantas*. It was therefore grouppt with two ancient collections of poems (the *Dhammapada* and the *Sutta Nipāto*) in a Fifth *Nikāyo*. To this

were added such other works as the Church produced before the first committal to writing in the first century B. C.

Let us now consider the story of Asito, which made Fausböll feel that the Nipāto was indebted to Luke.

Anesaki tells me that the Asito legend is lacking in the three texts of the Realist Book of Discipline, and this, together with its absence from Dīgha 14, as aforesaid, betrays its comparative lateness. But as the Discipline and the Sūtras were already extant in some form when Asoko wrote his list of selections, this lateness does not mean a post-Christian date, but only a post-Asokan one. The legend occurs in the Mahāvastu and the Lalita Vistara, and this not only in the prose, which is late, but in the verse, which is ancient. (4)

The Mahāvastu gives Nālako as the name of Asito's nephew, but the Lalita Vistara gives Nara-datto.

The whole of the Discourse on Moneyya (Sanskrit Mauneya) is repeated in the third volume of the Mahāvastu, where it is called the Nālaka-praṇa. It is connected with the story of Nālako's initiation, but not with the same verses or their legend found in the Sutta Nipāto. This again goes to show that the Theme-Verses and the Discourse on Asceticism are two separate documents.

The present recensions of the Mahāvastu and

(4) (Senart: Mahāvastu, Vol. 2, p. 30 *et seq.*; Lalita Vistara, Cap. 7.)

the Lalita Vistara are post-Christian, but the archaic verse-element is pre-Christian. Now, the story of Asito was in a book which was a precursor of our present Lalita Vistara, and was taken to China in the first century. The following facts are in Samuel Beal's Introduction to S. B. E., Vol. XIX:—

“There is no life of Buddha in the Southern school. Facts connected with his life are found in the different canonical books, and these being put together give an outline of his career, tho there is no single work devoted to the account of his life. But there are many such works in the Chinese collection of books. Some of them still exist, others have been lost. The earliest of which we have any record was translated by Chu-fa-lan (Gobharana) between A. D. 68 and A. D. 70. It was called the

Fo-pen-hing-king

in five chapters. It is lost, but there are quotations from it found in Chinese Buddhist books which indicate its character. In the commentary, for example, of Taou-shih, who edited a life of Buddha by Wong-pūh, there is frequent reference to a work, Pen-hing-king, which in all probability is the book under our present consideration. This we gather from a comparison of these quotations with the text of other works that bear a similar title. For instance, there is a book called Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king, which is stated to be a Chinese version of the Abhinishkramana Sūtra, that is sometimes quoted as the Pen-hing-king, but the passages given by

Taou-shih are not to be found in this work. Neither are they taken from the Pen-hing-king, written by Paou-Yun, nor are they to be found in the Pen-hing-king by Aṣvaghosha. We may justly argue therefore that the commentator, Taou-shih, in quoting from the Pen-hing-king, refers to the work translated by Chu-fa-lan, which is now lost. If so, the book can have differed in no material point from the common legendary account of Buddha's early career. In § 8 the Pen-hing is quoted in reference to the selection of Buddha's birth-place; in § 11 the dream of Māyā at the conception of the child is referred to. In § 23 there is the history of Asita and his horoscope. In § 27 the trial in athletic sports. In § 29 the enjoyment of the prince in his palace for ten years. In § 31 the account of the excursion beyond the walls and the sights of suffering. In § 33 the interview with his father before his flight from the palace. In § 38 the act of cutting his hair with his sword and the intervention of Çakra. In § 39 his exchange of garments with the hunter. In § 40 his visit to the Rishis in the snowy mountains. In § 41 the account of his six years' fast at Gayā. In § 44 there is allusion to the Nāgas Kalika and Mucilinda. In § 46 the rice-milk given by the two daughters of Sujāta. Here the quotations from the Pen-hing come to an end. We can scarcely doubt therefore that this work ended with the account of the supreme enlightenment of Buddha. It is said that the Fo-pen-hing was in five kiouen; it could not therefore have been a short abstract, but must

have been a complete history of Buddha from his birth to the period of his victory over Māra. It would thus correspond with what is termed the 'intermediate epoch,' in the Southern records. We may conclude therefore that such a life of Buddha was in circulation in India in a written form at or before the beginning of our era. It was brought thence by Chu-fa-lan, and translated into Chinese A. D. 67-70. M. Stanislas Julien, in the well-known communication found on p. xvii n. of the translation of the *Lalita Vistara* from Tibetan by M. Foucaux, speaks of this work as the first version of the *Lalita Vistara* into Chinese."

Thus far Samuel Beal. Whether we call this first-century translation a version of the *Lalita Vistara* or not, the fact remains that poetical lives of Buddha, containing the Asito legend, were in existence at the time of Paul. These biographies presuppose the older Sūtras: indeed they form a link between the pre-Christian Hīnayāna and the post-Christian Mahāyāna. Over a great part of the South and East of Asia, therefore, and strongly entrenched at Bactra, on the high road to Babylon and Antioch, there was at the time of Christ a well-developed legend that a superhuman Savior had descended from heaven into a human womb, and his birth had been heralded by choirs of angels. They sang to the ear of faith and said that an all-wise Being was born in an Indian town for weal

and welfare in the world of men. If, therefore, there be any connection between this

Manussa-loke hita-sukhatāya jāto

and Luke's

ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνῃ, ἐν ἄνθρωποις εὐδοκία,

the borrowing is on the Christian side. The phrase, "for weal and welfare among men", applied to Buddha, runs all thru the Pāli Canon, and is too deeply interwoven therewith to be a late interpolation borrowed from a new religion. But the old overshadowed the new, and the rising young faith of the West more likely caught this refrain from the East, if not from Roman hero-songs, such as found in Virgil's Fourth Eclog and on the marbles of Ancyra. But we must never forget that Buddha, if not Zoroaster, was the first to found (5) a universal religion, and the first whose followers believed him to be born for the weal and welfare of the world.

From the evidence before us, it seems likely that the Discourse on Asceticism was composed some time between Buddha's death (B. C. 477) and the age of Asoko (B. C. 250). The story of Asito, which is now attacht thereto, is not so old, but was composed between the time of Asoko and the com-

(5) The first to see the vision was either Micah or Isaiah (Isaiah II. 1-5=Micah IV. 1-5), unless we consider this ancient oracle a post-exilic interpolation. It is curious that in the immediate context of Isaiah (II. 6) the writer complains of the influx of Oriental ideas into Palestine.

mittal of the Canon to writing (about B. C. 40.) When the committal to writing took place, the poem was already ancient, so that we may place it in the second century B. C. It may be as old as the third. B. C. 200 would be a round date for it, and nearer than we can fix most things Hindū. The last two sections of the Sutta Nipāto are older still, and belong to the fourth or even the fifth century B. C., while a great deal of the other sections is of equal antiquity, as Fausböll pointed out in his English translation (1881). A primitive state of the Buddhist society is indicated, and the Pāli is archaic.

4. THE CHRISTIAN INFANCY SECTIONS.

Even tho there be no demonstrable connection between the Buddhist and Christian Infancy Sections, yet I believe the latter to be cast in the same mold of Asiatic legend. (1)

There has been such long communication, by migration, conquest, commerce and philosophy, among the peoples of hither Asia, from the Bosphorus to the Indus, that they may be said to have a world of ideas in common. Josephus hit upon a profound historical truth when he made the Nile and the Ganges the two extreme rivers of Paradise: the region between them has been the cradle of the oldest and greatest religions, and may be called the Holy Land of the human race.

The primitive Gospel tradition begins with the preaching of John the Baptist (Acts I. 22.) This is the case with Mark, the simplest and most archaic of the Evangelists, and even with John, the latest and most recondite. Mark and John relate no Infancy stories. The Acts and the Epistles contain no references to the Virginal Birth. Luke, after his Infancy Section, begins the true synoptical

(1) I do not attempt to repeat the well-known analyses which disprove the historicity of the Infancy Sections. They may be found in English in a concise form in Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica* (London, 1899.) I recommend to every serious reader this true *Eirenicon* and masterpiece of scientific piety. See also *Encyclopædia Biblica*: articles *Mary* and *Nativity*. (London, 1902.)

narrative with an historical introduction (Luke III. 1), very different from his poetical preface, with its loose chronology of the census. Matthew, in the corresponding place, begins with the phrase: "And in those days," after skipping a period of nearly thirty years. Again, the length of the Infancy Sections, (Matthew I.—II., and Luke I.—II.) is out of all proportion to the historical element in the Gospels. One of the striking proofs of the Evangelical veracity is the disproportion between the length of the narrative of the last few weeks of Christ's ministry and the first three years. The Transfiguration, which is placed about a month before the Crucifixion, is related in Luke IX. This means that out of Luke's twenty-two chapters (excluding the Infancy Section) sixteen relate to the Lord's last month, and only six to his three years of service. The proportion in Mark and Matthew is not so great, but it is sufficiently striking (Mark IX: Matth. XVII.). Now, the events of the last month were more vividly remembered because more recent and more startling than the events of the quiet years. It is because the Evangelists were historians, and not romancers, that they related in full what was well authenticated, and in briefer form what was distantly remembered. But the Infancy Sections are out of all proportion to the record of Christ's early years; and, while the main Gospel narrative is supported by frequent allusions in the Acts and Epistles, the Infancy Sections have no such support. One sign of fiction on Luke's

part is at I. 70, where he puts into the mouth of Zacharias a saying which is in Acts III. 21 ascribed to Peter at the Gate Beautiful :

Whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the world began.

This is not an Old Testament quotation, and cannot be found in the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigrapha. On the other hand, Luke asserts, in his Prolog, that he has accurately traced the course of all things from the first, and soon afterwards hints of traditions gathered among the Judean hills. (I. 65.)

We have already adverted to the silence of Mark. But Mark is more than silent : he explicitly rejects the Virginal Birth. In Mark I. 10 we read that the Holy Ghost entered INTO Jesus at Baptism. (See Parallel 5.) Such is the reading of Westcott and Hort, based upon the Vatican and Bezan MSS. Alford, Tregelles and other critical editors agree with them. It is true that most MSS. and all the current English versions have *upon* instead of *into*. But this is due to an early orthodox alteration, like the insertion of the Trinitarian formula and the Baptismal charge in Matth. xxviii. 19. Mark was always a Unitarian Gospel. Witness the "neither the Son," (xiii. 32) which the Council of Nicea found in Mark alone. The entry of the Holy Ghost at Baptism implies that no supernatural Sonship existed from birth. As Rendel Harris has

shown in his article on the Sinai Syriac, the early Christology was Adoptionist. Jesus was an adopted Son, not a supernaturally-born one. Therefore the Ebionite Gospel read at the Baptism the words :

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

These words actually occur in Luke's account of the Baptism in Codex D, and also in Justin Martyr (Trypho 88). Such then is the Christology of Mark. No wonder that Irenæus found Mark very popular among the early Unitarian party. (Hær. III. xi. 7.) That Mark was little read among the orthodox we may see from Irenæus' blunders about its contents (Haer. IV. vi. 1) and from Tertullian's neglect of it when categorically quoting the Gospels (*De Res. Carnis*, ap. Westcott on the Canon, ed. 1889, p. 262.) Any one who will study carefully the matter peculiar to Mark in Abbott and Rushbrooke's analysis will see how numerous are the Unitarian touches in that Gospel—a fact which did not escape Huxley, in his controversy with the English Bishops.

Since the discovery of the Sinai Syriac, in 1893, we know that there were two parties in the early Church, whom we may call the Genealogy party and the Virginal Birth party. The former traced the lineage of Jesus thru Joseph as his father; the latter, like Tatian in the second century, discarded the Genealogies as useless, and knew of no

descent but the heavenly one of John's Prolog.(2)
The Sinai Syriac reads :

Joseph begat Jesus,

which was doubtless the original reading of the Genealogy. That the Genealogies were separate documents from the Infancy Sections is evidenced from the fact that, while Matthew's Genealogy table is prefixt to the Infancy narrative, Luke's is outside of it. Moreover, a number of ancient British manuscripts make Matthew's Genealogy a preface standing by itself, and place after it the words :

Finit Prologus. Incipit Evangelium. (3)

Marcion, the Gnostic of the second century, who revised the Gospel of Luke to suit himself, omitted both the Infancy Section and the Genealogy. He also went further, and omitted the accounts of the Baptism and Temptation, the Prodigal Son and the Triumphal Entry, as well as shorter pieces, among them apparently the single line on the Ascension.(4) Scholars have decided that most of these excisions were arbitrary ; but as he profest to base his revision upon Luke's first edition, and as an earlier edition of Luke has been suspected by

(2) Compare the Eusebian Canons, which collocate John's Prolog with the Genealogies.

(3) Westcott, article *Vulgate*, in Smith's Bib. Dic. See also Hug and Scrivener.

(4) My authorities are Westcott and Sanday. Critics are not agreed about some omissions, but those mentioned, excepting the Ascension, are admitted by all.

modern critics on textual grounds, it is likely that some of his omissions go back to that edition. Moreover, it is significant that his principal excisions are passages which have affinities with the Old Testament and other sacred books, including the Buddhist.

The Harmony of Tatian, dating a quarter of a century later than Marcion, while weaving together the narratives of Matthew and Luke, found no place for the Genealogies, but retained the Infancy Section. Now, according to Epiphanius,(5) the Encratites, who favored virginity, following James the Lord's brother, had books that were written by old men and maidens, and it was doubtless among these votaries that the Virginal Birth found credit. They of course repudiated the descent thru Joseph, and therefore discarded the "endless genealogies," many more of which were once probably extant, besides the two that have come down to us.

The genealogies were derived, says Julius Africanus, from the kinsmen of the Lord.(6) By this we need not understand James the Lord's brother and his compeers, but a later generation, such as those who stood before Domitian and showed him the toil-worn hardness of their hands. Among these people, Jesus was simply the son of Joseph, as in the Gospel of John.(7) Such was the state of affairs until the first quarter of the second

(5) Hær. XXX. 2.

(6) Eusebius, H. E. I. 7.

(7) John VII. 5.

century, when the Gospel was finally edited. Even Justin, however, in the middle of the century, recognizes the existence of the party who rejected the Virginal Birth. The opposite party, however, gained the upper hand, but conciliated the Genealogy party by incorporating the favorite documents of the latter, together with their own opposing ones. In doing this they omitted the ascription of paternity to Joseph, thus causing commentators endless trouble to account for the fact that both lists are traced thru him, and not thru Mary. This method of conciliation by juxtaposing contradictory accounts is eminently Oriental, and I have elsewhere given an example of it from the Chronicles of Ceylon.(8) Paul evidently belonged to the Genealogy party (Romans I. 3); but whoever wrote the Pastoral Epistles (perhaps Paul himself when older, at least in part) was tired of the controversy and was impatient of "endless genealogies" and "old wives' fables." (1 Timothy I. 4; IV. 7; Titus III. 9.) I cannot help regarding these phrases as pointed allusions to the controversy in question rather than to the Gnostic Eons and mythology.

The first Church Father who quotes the Infancy legend is Ignatius, in the first quarter of the second century. In the same century the heretic Symmachus wrote a refutation of the story, which is lost. Of its early origin, however, there is no doubt, for the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, which omit

(8) In an article in *The New Christianity*, Ithaca, N. Y., July, 1898.

the Mark Appendix, added by Ariston, the contemporary of Ignatius, include the Infancy Sections as integral portions of Matthew and Luke. If the doctrine of the Virginal Birth has any New Testament basis at all, it must be sought for, not in the legendary preface prefixt to Matthew's Gospel, nor in the more artistic one composed by the non-apostolic Luke, but in the words of the Evangelist John, who took Mary to his own home, and knew the fact, if any one did. In John I. 13, two ancient Latin MSS. and three early Fathers (Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Tertullian) agree in the use of the singular number instead of the plural, thus making that verse a direct attestation of the Virginal Birth:

Who was born, not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. (9)

Even if we read the plural, as the manuscript evidence requires, there still lies in the background of the metaphor the idea of a virginal nativity. Given the Divinity of Christ, in a supernatural sense, and the doctrine of such a nativity falls logically into place. Believers may be spiritually born as of virginal conception, but their Lord was physically so. And we have the warrant of Paul that no man can say Jesus is Lord except in the Holy Spirit (I Cor. XII. 3.) In short, the doctrine of the supernatural Nativity is a matter of faith alone, as Canon

(9) I wrote this before seeing Resch's *Kindheitsevangelium* (Leipzig, 1897.)

Gore has maintained, and it has no support from the science of historical criticism. (10)

Since writing the above, some years ago, I have come to agree with the Prussian Church Council of 1846, that the Virginal Birth is no necessary part of Christian belief. I leave the above sentiment as it stands, however, that the reader may see that my attitude has been conservative, and that I have only been driven from it by facts. A fact which has had much weight is the following document, which I extract from in its chief points. It is an old Syriac chronicle, which makes three things probable :

1. The Virginal Birth story was still in process of formation in the year A. D. 119.

2. Its origin was Zoroastrian.

3. In its pre-canonical form it is quoted by Ignatius of Antioch, who is the first Christian writer, outside the Infancy Sections of Matthew and Luke, to quote it at all. And he quoted it in the same decade as that indicated by the Chronicle as the time of the legend's redaction, and by Eusebius as the period when the Gospels themselves were

(10) Before the appearance of Gore's Dissertations on the Incarnation (1895), I had spent some years in a study of the Infancy Sections, and had written an essay which arrived at his conclusions, that is, a belief in the Virginal Birth as a corollary to the Resurrection, but not on any historical ground. I cannot here enter into the side-issue since raised by Ramsay. The futility of basing the Divinity of Christ upon the Virginal Birth is patent from the fact that Mohammed admitted the latter, but fiercely denied the former (Korān, caps. III, V, XIX.)

edited.(11) It was also the period of Aristion, who wrote the Mark Appendix, so that the New Testament was still in a plastic state.

Concerning the Star ; showing how and
thru what the Magi recognized the
Star, and that Joseph did not take
Mary as his wife. (12)

I will write and inform thee, our dear brother, concerning the righteous of old, and concerning the handing down of the histories of their deeds ; and how, and thru what, the Magi recognized the Star, and came and worshipt our Lord with their offerings ; partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly as we have found in the true chronicles, which were written and composed by men of old in various cities.

And as many things, which Moses also neglected, are found in chronicles that were written and laid up, so too the history of the Star which the Magi saw, was found in a chronicle which was written and laid up in Arnon, the border of the

(11) Eusebius, H. E. III. 37.

(12) Translated from the Syriac by William Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* : London, October, 1866. The manuscript of the chronicle is placed at the sixth century, and the text, being ascribed to Eusebius, probably emanates from a writer of the fourth. This remarkable document was pointed out to me by Rendel Harris, to whom in turn it had been pointed out by Nestle. Neither of them, however, is responsible for the critical use I have made of it, tho I believe Nestle has written something about it which has not yet found its way to Philadelphia.

Moabites and Ammonites.(13) And this history was taken from the place in which it was written, and was conveyed away and deposited in the fortress of Ecbatana, which is in Persia.....

All these kings of the Assyrians, from the days of Moses to Cyrus the Persian, were on their guard and watching to see when the word of Balaam would be fulfilled and when the legions of the Chittites would issue forth from the land of the Macedonians; and how would be devastated the lands and regions of all Asia, and the city of Ephesus, and the districts of Pontus, and Galatia, and Cilicia, and all Syria, and the spacious country of Mesopotamia and of all the Parthians; and (how) they would pass on to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, the first of all mighty men, and would wage war violently with the Assyrians, and conquer them and subdue them.....

And when the Persians saw that the word of Balaam had turned out true and become a fact, they were also specially concerned to see when the Star would arise and become visible, about which he spoke, meditating what might perchance happen at its rising, and whence it would appear, and concerning whom it would testify.

And after this Darius, whom Alexander the king of the Greeks slew, there arose King ARSUN, in whose days cities were increast in their buildings in the land of Syria.....(14)

(13) The association of the Chronicle with the country beyond Jordan connects it with the Essenes or other sects influenced by the farther East; while the association with Persia connects it with Mazdeism.

(14) This refers to the founding, or restoring, of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Edessa, Bercea, and Pella, by Seleucus Nicator. (Note by Wright.)

And from (L)ISCUS to king PIRSHBUR (Pīr-Shabūr?) in whose days Augustus Cæsar reigned over the Roman Empire. And in his days was the glorious manifestation of our adored Savior. And therefore in the days of this PIRSHBUR, who was called ZMRNS, there appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. *And it overpowered by its aspect all the stars that were in the heavens,*(15) as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and ascended again to the height of its nature, to show that its Lord was God in His nature.

And when the Persians saw it, they were alarmed and afraid, and there fell upon them agitation and trembling, and fear got the mastery over them. And it was visible to the inner depths of the East alone; and the Persians and the Hūzites, and the other peoples that were around them, knew that this was what Balaam had foretold. And this apparition and news flew thru the whole East: "The king of Persia is preparing splendid offerings and gifts and presents, and is sending them by the hands of the Magi, the worshipers of fire." And because the king did not know where the Messiah was born, he commanded the bearers of the offerings, (saying): "Keep going towards the Star, and walking on the road along which it runs before

(15) Ignatius of Antioch, in his reference to the star, agrees with this passage, and not with Matthew. The story is Talmudic; *so also is the hiding of the infant from the wrath of a tyrant, who slays a slave-child, believing it to be the dreaded rival.* The infant is kept in a cave until he is ten years old. (The Talmud: Selections. By H. Polano. Philadelphia, 1876, p. 30.)

you ; and by day and night keep observing its light."

And when they set forth with the sun from their country, in which this sun (of ours) is born every day, the Star too with its rays was running on before them, accompanying them and going with them, and becoming as it were an attendant of theirs. And they halted in many places, passing by large fortified towns, and (thru) various foreign tongues and different garbs, that were unlike to one another. And they halted outside of the cities, and not inside of the cities, until they reacht the gates of Jerusalem, over which the Star stood still, entering and alarming Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and terrifying also the kings and priests.

And when they had entered within the gates of the city, it was concealed from them. And when the Magi saw that neither the kings, nor the priests, nor the chiefs of the people perceived the coming of the Messiah, and the Star was concealed, they knew that, because they were not worthy, they did not perceive the birth of the Son, nor were they worthy to behold the Star.

And when the Magi saw that the Star was hidden from them, they went forth by night from the city ; and at that very moment the Star appeared unto them ; and they went after the apparition of it, until it descended and stood still over the cave of Bethlehem, where was born the Messiah. And in that hour they opened their treasures, and offered unto Him many presents and gifts of offerings, bowing down in adoration before the Messiah, that their offerings might be accepted, and that they might be delivered from the hateful treachery which they had seen in Jerusalem, and might reach their own country without fear, and might carry

back word to those who had sent them of what they had seen and heard.

And when they had made their offerings, and past the night there, the Star too stopt with them above *the cave*.⁽¹⁶⁾ And when they rose early in the morning to set out for their country, it was for the second time running on and going before them on the way, which was different from the former one ; and until they had entered their city, it did not quit them, nor was it concealed as on the former occasion.

And when they had entered into the presence of the king who had sent them, they narrated to him all that they had heard and seen. These things too were written down there in inner Persia, and were stored up among the records of the deeds of their kings, where was written and stored up the history of the legions of the Chittites and the account of this Star, that they might be preserved where were preserved the histories of the ancients.

But Joseph and Mary, when they saw the treachery of King Herod and the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees, arose and took the Child, and *went to a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue*; and there they dwelt for the space of four years, during which Herod continued to reign after (their flight). And at the commencement of the reign of Herod's son, they arose and went up from that land, to the country of Galilee, Joseph and Mary, and our Lord along with them, and the five sons of Hannah (Anna), the first wife of Joseph. But Mary and our

(16) The Nativity in the cave is a well-known uncanonical tradition ; while the mention of "a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue" hardly comports with Egypt, which was so familiar to the Syrians.

Lord were dwelling together in the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from the holy Angel.....(17) and eleven, in the second year of the coming of our Savior, in the consulship of Cæsar and of Capito, in the month of the latter Kānūn, these Magi came from the East and worshipt our Lord at Bethlehem of the kings. And in the year four hundred and thirty (A. D. 119), in the reign of Hadrianus Cæsar, in the consulship of Severus and of Fulgus, in the episcopate of Xystus, bishop of the city of Rome, this concern arose in (the minds of) men acquainted with the Holy Books; and thru the pains of the great men(18) in various places this history was sought for and found, and written in the tongue of those who took this care.

Here ends the Discourse on the Star, which was composed by Mār Eusebius of Cæsarea.

With this account compare the following from Ignatius, who was martyred about 118, a year before the redaction of the legend. If this were the work of the magnates or leaders of the church, Ignatius would be one of the compilers of the original Christian legend, tho of course not of the present apocryphal chronicle. It is therefore very significant that he is the first to allude to the story.

(17) Here some sixteen or seventeen lines of the Syriac text have been purposely erased, probably on account of some statement which a later reader considered heretical. (Note by Wright.)

(18) My friend, Henry L. Gilbert, Ph.D., Rector of Caldwell, N. Y., tells me that the Syriac word, translated "great men", means magnates or grandees. [This promising scholar was taken from us in June, 1904. His essay on Hebrew Proper Names is quoted in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.]

Ignatius, Epistle to the Ephesians, Cap. 19.

Hidden from the prince of this age were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing and likewise also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be shouted—the which were done in the quietness of God. How then were they manifested unto the ages? A star shone in heaven above all the stars; and its light was unspeakable, and its newness brought amazement; and all the rest of the stars together, with sun and moon, became a chorus to the star; but itself was transcendent in its light beyond them all; and there was trouble to know whence (came) the newness which was unlike them. From that time every sorcery and every bond was dissolved; the ignorance of wickedness vanished away; the old kingdom was pulled down, when God appeared human-wise unto newness of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected with God took a beginning, Thence all things were stirred up, because there was meditated the destruction of death.

The Arabic Infancy Gospel expressly connects the visit of the Magi with a prophecy of Zoroaster. Even while denying any etymological connection between *Pharisee* and *Parsi*, scholars are gradually accepting the view that the Pharisees, with their doctrine of angels and a future life, were the Persianizing party in the Jewish church, whom the conservative Sadducees opposed. As no *developt* eschatology appears in the Pentateuch, which was the sole canon of the latter, they regarded the eschatology of Daniel, Enoch and Tobit as foreign.

And they were right. The Talmud tells that the Jews brought the names of the angels from Babylon. In the pre-exilian book of Samuel, Jehovah tempts David to number Israel; whereas in the post-exilian Chronicles, the tempter is Satan: Ahriman had entered into Hebrew conceptions during the two hundred years that Palestine was a Persian province. At the time of the Apostles, the presence of Parthians at the feast of Pentecost, the prevalence of Mithraism in the Roman Empire, and the Mazdean influences in the new religion of Elkesai, all point to a continuance of connection between Hebrew and Parsi thought.(19)

In some respects the Christian legend comes nearer to the Mazdean than to the Buddhist. This is especially seen in the Temptation story, so closely connected with the hero-legends of Christ's Nativity and early life. Like Jesus, Zoroaster repulses the Evil One by quoting Scripture; like him, too, he is offered worldly empire to renounce his spiritual career. The Avesta says:

Renounce the good law of the worshipers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as the murderer gained, the ruler of the nations.

The Pahlavi texts have: (20)

It is declared (i.e. in a lost Nosk of the Avesta) that Ahriman shouted to Zoroaster thus: "If thou

(19) In Epiph. XIX. 2, the brother of Elkesai is indebted to a Levite from Susa, who had worshipt Artemis and fled from the wrath of Darius.

(20) S. B. E. XXIV, p. 103.

desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the *Vaḍakān* monarch, *Dahāk*."

The idea of repulsing *Māro* with Scripture would be un-Buddhistic: Gotamo vaunted that he was independent of the Vedas.

In the Nativity, again, the theistic Mazdean is naturally nearer to the theistic Christian than to the Buddhist. A ray of the Divine Glory (*Hvareno*) enters the mother of Zoroaster, just as the Holy Ghost overshadows Mary. The Buddhist doctrine of Gandharvas operating at birth applies to every one, and makes all birth supernatural. Moreover, in the Pāli Suttas, there is no virginal birth for Buddha, but only a marvelous one. It is when we get to the later *Lalita Vistara* that the mother abstains from intercourse for thirty-two months, so that the ten months' gestation cannot have been human.(21)

As I hinted in my note of 1898,(22) the Oriental practise of abstinence during gestation may be at the root of the whole doctrine of a virginal birth.

(21) Cf. Virgil, *Eclog* 4; Suetonius, Augustus 94.

Suetonius wrote in the twenties of the first century. His Augustan birth-story has points of agreement with Matthew, *Dīgha* 14, and the Mazdean marvels. In speaking of the *Lalita Vistara*, I take it as it stands, without regard to statements in other Buddhist books. But see note to § No. 6 in the Nativity Sutta.

(22) *Open Court*: August 1898, p. 488.

In fact, in the primitive Buddhism of the Pāli texts, there are two germs of the legend :

1. Abstinence during gestation.
2. The *gandharva* mythology.

The second element appears in the Middling Collection, Dialog No. 38, and is translated in our present work. According to this idea, every human being is born by the conjunction of a spirit called a *gandharva* with the parents at the time of conception. It is possibly at the root of Luke's story about the Holy Ghost overshadowing Mary. We have seen that Ignatius of Antioch was the first to quote the Matthean legend, and that he quoted it in its pre-canonical form. The first writer to quote its canonical form is Justin Martyr, and even he has such uncanonical details as the birth in a cave, the Magi coming from Arabia, and Herod, as "King of the Assyrians."

Basilides, who comes chronologically between Ignatius and Justin, alludes to the Magi and the star ; but we cannot be certain that he is using the canonical source : his reference is too brief. He also is the first to quote the Infancy legend of Luke.

Harnack thinks that the Virginal Birth was based upon a misunderstanding of Isaiah VII. 14 : **Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son.** (23). It is well known that the Hebrew word here is not *virgin*, but *young woman*. And yet the

(23) Harnack: History of Dogma (English translation, London, 1894, Vol. I, p. 100.)

Septuagint has *παρθενος*. May not this rendering have been due to a knowledge of the Zoroastrian myth about the Savior-bearing maidens? Harnack admits that the Jewish Apocalypses were full of Babylonian and Persian mythology, and that the early Christians accepted them, while he insists that the Christian Nativity legend was home-born.(24). But it is highly probable that the mysterious Law-giver of the Essenes (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 9) was Zoroaster, and not Moses, and that thru both Essenes and Pharisees (=Parsees) the Judaism of the time of Christ had been tinged with Mazdean thought.

The question of Luke's use of the Buddhist Infancy legend is part of the larger one of his use of the Buddhist traditions at all, and will be discust below.

Marcion, in the first half of the second century, had a recension of Luke which he accounted genuine, and which omitted certain sections dependent upon the Old Testament and other sacred books. It was the aim of Marcion to clear the new religion of all association with the past, and to make it a revelation from the God of Jesus, who

(24) Early Christianity was free from Gentile myths, says he, "so far as these had not already been received by wide circles of Jews (above all, certain Babylonian and Persian myths)." For a remarkable proof from the Talmud of Persian eschatology reaching Palestine, see the note to our Parallel entitled: "The Great Restoration," No. 83 *infra*.

was above the Demiurge. (25) But the aims of Luke were broader: he wanted to adapt the Gospel to the votaries of older faiths, on his principle that God had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began, and that in every nation the worker of righteousness is accepted of him.

(25) According to Albīrūnī, however, Marcion and Bardesanes were Mazdeans who embraced Christianity, but mixt it with their former faith.

5. THE POSSIBILITY OF CONNECTION BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM.

At the time of Christ, the religion of Buddha was the most powerful on the planet. It was still making new conquests, and was filled with the missionary spirit. Its only real rival as a world-power was Mazdeism, which, tho active in the cult of Mithras, was already on the wane. In the Parthian Empire, Buddhism and Mazdeism met, but the history of their intercourse is obscure. Our present business is to inquire into possible intercourse between Buddhism and Christianity.

While the progress of knowledge is, on the one hand, deepening our consciousness of the solidarity of human thought, and forbidding us to set up the cry of borrowing when two legends—a Hindū and an Aztec—are alike, on the other hand, it is teaching us how widespread was the intercourse of the ancients; how persistently they took and gave ideas; and how eagerly they recognized in a foreign divinity the features of their own. To steer between these two opposing currents is not always easy, but our principle should be to regard nothing as borrowed unless proven by express reference, by identity of text or sequence of narrative, accompanied with demonstrable intercourse.

The principle that ought to guide us has been happily exprest by François Lenormant, in a passage for which I am indebted to Albert Metzger's new

work on the Oriental Origins of Christianity (Paris, 1906). This book was printed at Angers in 1907, and came into my hands too late for notice in the Preface. The following is my English rendering of the words of Lenormant :—

“When we find among two peoples, differing from each other in race and in ideas, the same legend in a similar setting, which does not necessarily and naturally arise from the basic element of the story ; and when, furthermore, this setting is strictly related to the totality of the religious conceptions of one of the two peoples, while with the other it remains in isolation, outside the habits of their symbolism, a fundamental and absolute rule of criticism compels us to conclude that the legend was transmitted from one people to the other in a literary form (*rédaction*) already fixt, and that it constitutes a foreign importation which has been superimposed upon, but not confounded with, those traditions which truly belong to the national genius of the people who received it, but never invented.”

My great critic, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, has quoted from Francis Ribezzo a judgment in accord herewith, which is this :

“FICTIONS LIKE THAT OF THE ASS IN THE LION’S SKIN WERE NOT INVENTED TWICE.”

It must remain for some greater scholar than the present writer to apply these rules to the material before us. Our work here is the humbler one of collection. While the author has riskt an

occasional suggestion of loan when an idea is expressed in strikingly similar terms by the sacred writers of Palestine and India, he inclines to the judgment of M. Metzger and others, that the loan most generally goes back to prehistoric times, when certain peoples now separate were once together. On the other hand, we have said that nations like India, Israel, Greece and Persia, which attained an ancient distinction in the things of thought, and which were assuredly in long communication, must have been influenced by each other, just as (tho with much greater advantages) all Europeans quote Shakspeare, Goethe, Kant and Tolstoï.

The antiquity of commerce between India and the West is indicated by the following passage from Sayce's Hibbert Lectures :—

Sayce : Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 136–138. (Condensed by Wilfred H. Schoff, who pointed out this passage to me.) There is now sufficient evidence to prove that at the very dawn of the historic period in Babylonia, maritime intercourse was being carried on between this country on the one hand and the Sinaitic Peninsula and India on the other. The statues discovered by M. de Sarzec at Tel-loh, dated about 4000 B. C., resemble the diorite statue of King Khephren, the builder of the second pyramid of Gizeh, which is now in the Būlak Museum. The execution indeed is infinitely inferior ; but the general style is remarkably alike. Some of the Tel-loh statues are carved out of hard diorite stone—quarried from the Sinaitic Peninsula. [See, by the way, Mr. Flinders Petrie's new book, *Researches in Sinai*]. Egyptian garrisons had held the Peninsula

since the Third Dynasty, and stone was quarried there and conveyed by sea to Egypt and Babylonia; and a school of sculpture had already arisen there. The units of measurement of the Pyramid builders and of the Tel-loh statues are the same.

In an opposite direction Chaldean traders had made their way to the western coast of India. Apart from the existence of teak in the ruins of Mugheir, an ancient Babylonian list of clothing mentions *sindhu*, or "muslin"—the *çadīn* of the Old Testament, the *σινδών* of the Greeks. That *σινδών* is merely "the Indian" cloth has long been recognized; and the fact that it begins with a sibilant and not with a vowel, like our "Indian," proves that it must have come to the west by sea and not by land, where the original *s* would have become *h* in Persian mouths. That *sindhu* is really the same word as *σινδών* is shown by its Accadian equivalent, which is exprest by ideographs signifying literally "vegetable cloth."

Until Robert Clive inaugurated the new era of cosmic relations in 1757 (1) by giving India to the English, the greatest name in this respect was ALEXANDER. Among his memoranda, says the Sicilian Diodorus, were several public schemes, such as the construction of a road thru Northern Africa, but none were so magnificent as this:—

"(He decreed) that there should be interchanges

(1) Swedenborg was a true prophet when he proclaimed that this remarkable year was the hinge of an eon. He could not have said this by mere political calculation, for the news of the battle of Plassey in June, 1757, did not reach Europe until early in 1758. Before that time the seer of Stockholm had had the vision whereon he based his statement.

between cities, and that people should be transferred out of Asia into Europe, and conversely out of Europe into Asia, to the end that the two great continents, by intermarriages and exchange of good offices, might become homogeneous and establish in mutual friendship.”(2)

The literal execution of this plan was hindered by the great Captain's death, but in spirit it was amply carried out in his city at the mouths of the Nile. Until the translation of the Sacred Books of the East into English in the nineteenth century, nowhere was there developed so active an intercourse between the mind of Europe and the soul of Asia as in the city of Alexandria, from the translation of the Pentateuch in the third century before Christ to the commentaries of Origen in the third century after him. This was made possible by the founding of Myos Hormos on the Red Sea and Charax at the mouth of the Euphrates. The former carried the trade of India to Alexandria; the latter, to Damascus. It was at Charax that the Jewish merchant converted the exiled Izates to the religion of his fathers;(3) and this is only a stray example of what must have gone on continually in these cosmopolitan marts.

Then, also, Alexander took with him to India three thousand Greek artists and actors who laid the foundation of a long intellectual connection be-

(2) Diodorus Siculus xviii. 4.

(3) Josephus, Antiquities XX. ii. 3.

tween Hellenist and Hindū culture.(4) Hilgenfeld has pointed out that Alexandria is mentioned in the Great Chronicle of Ceylon as sending Buddhist monks to attend a ceremony in that island in the second century before Christ. Lightfoot combated this view in his essay on the Essenes, and identified the Alexandria with Alexandria ad Caucasum. Rhys Davids, too, in his *Milindo*, identifies the one there mentioned with the Panjāb Alexandria. But Sylvain Lévi considers both Milindo's city and the one of the Great Chronicle to be the Egyptian capital, pointing out that the Hindū astronomers always call the latter "the city of the Greeks," which is the term of the Chronicle.(5) The associated places in the Chronicle are mostly in India, but Pallavabhāgo is Parthia.

Aristotle was the contemporary and tutor of Alexander, and died within a year of him. He conversed with a Jew in Asia, who came from the region of Damascus, and belonged to a sect in that country that was derived from the Hindū philosophers.(6) This man, said Aristotle, gave him and his com-

(4) Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 72. Τεχνίται means artificers, but includes actors and artists. Plutarch only gets them as far as Ecbatana, but doubtless many went to India: they certainly did later on.

(5) *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*: Paris, 1891.

(6) Josephus, *Against Apion*, I. 22. Clearchus of Soli, the authority here, considered the Jews themselves as of Hindū origin; but allowing for this exaggeration, the fact underneath it probably is, that a certain sect had such an origin.

panions more information than they imparted in return. Now, as Gotamo had given a missionary charge, there is no reason why his monks should not have gone to Syria, even before the mission of Asoko in the century after Alexander. If they did, an historical crux might be solved: the origin of the Essenes. But to this we shall return.

The successors of Alexander were animated by his spirit: Seleucus of Antioch sent Megasthenes as ambassador to the court of Patnā, and bade him write a description of India, while Ptolemy of Alexandria dispatcht Dionysius with the same intent.(7) The court of Antioch patronized Berosus,(8) who translated the sacred records of the Chaldeans, while the court of Alexandria founded the library and began to translate the Old Testament. The description of India which Megasthenes produced became the great authority of the West until after the Christian era. Candragupta, the king to whom he went, was the grandfather of Asoko. Bindusāro (or Amitraghāta) who came between them, kept up the interest of his sire, by sending to Antioch for a sophist.(9) The immortal Asoko set his crown upon this intercourse by introducing the religion of Gotamo to the notice of the Hellenist kings. We have already marveled that these monarchs, Greek and Hindū, who were stretching out their hands

(7) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VI. 21.

(8) Tatian, *To the Greeks*, cap. 36.

(9) Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* XIV. 67. Bindusāro wanted to buy a sophist, but was refused.

towards each other, should have left no further record of their intercourse. The Hindū was anxious to spread a knowledge of his sacred lore, and the Hellenist was anxious to translate it. We shall presently see the reason of the silence.

Passing from the third century before Christ into the second, we come to Alexander Polyhistor, a writer of Asia Minor. In a passage preserved to us by Cyril of Alexandria, this author shows a knowledge of Buddhism in Bactria, calling the religious men there by the well-known name of *Samanos*. In a passage of Clement of Alexandria, (10) Polyhistor's work on India is also quoted, and in the immediate context Clement describes the naked ascetics who venerate the truth (i. e. *Dhammo*). These were the Jains or other sects, but not Buddhists. Clement goes on to describe the pyramidal topes, which contained the bones of a God. These were probably Buddhist. *Samanos* (σάμνοι) may be either Buddhists, Jains or other non-Brahmin sects. In the second century before Christ, we also meet with Hindū mahouts on the elephants of the Syrian army. (1 Macc. VI. 37.)

In the same century (about B. C. 110) the Greek king Menander (in Pāli Milindo) who reigned in the Panjāb, had a celebrated discussion with the Buddhist sage Nāgaseno, preserved to us in *The Questions of King Milindo*, (11) translated in the

(10) Stromata III. 7.

(11) N. C. No. 1358.

Sacred Books of the East. This great work of Buddhist patristics (the Buddhist Irenæus we may call it; for just as the New Testament is first immanent in the pages of Irenæus, so are the Pāli Pitakas in the pages of *Milindo*)—this work shows us that Hindū philosophy, both Buddhist and Brahmin, was inquired into by intelligent Greeks. It shows us that schools of reciters, at the time of Christ, were keeping up the Pāli Canon.⁽¹²⁾ Each Collection of the Dialogs had its own professors, who knew it by heart. There were also special reciters of the Jātakas.

Passing now into the first century before Christ, we come to the Indian embassy to Augustus, mentioned by Horace as a recent event in his Ode on the secular games in B. C. 17. A member of this embassy, says Strabo, burnt himself to death in a public place in Athens, and an epitaph was written over his ashes, which called him Zarmanochegas, i. e. *ṣramanācāryas*, “teacher of the philosophers,” a name which has been perverted by writers who did not understand Lassen’s German transliteration. (I give the recognized European one of to-day). We must remember that the Greek $r=y$, not g . Note also that the final s is the proper nominative ending, tho we generally omit it, and write *ṣramanācārya*. As the Buddhists were forbidden to commit suicide, this ascetic perhaps belonged to another Hindū sect. At the same time, Buddhists

(12) *Milindo*, pp. 341, 342.

did commit suicide, and in spite of the formal prohibition, Gotamo himself condoned the suicide of Godhiko and others, while in the seventh century we find I-Tsing protesting against Buddhists taking their lives and burning their fingers. Lightfoot considered that Strabo's hero is alluded to by Paul in 1 Corinthians XIII. 3 :

If I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing.

We now come to the time of Christ, when Strabo saw a hundred and twenty ships ready to sail from the Red Sea to India.(13) The apostle Thomas, according to Christian tradition, preacht to King Gondophares, who reigned on the Indus, and whose coins are still to be seen. Not only so, but coins of all the Roman Emperors, from Augustus to Hadrian, are in the museum at Madras.(14) The Acts of Thomas are therefore not all invention : Gondophares was a real king. Von Gutschmid, in 1864,(15) suggested a connection between the Acts of Thomas and Buddhist missionary tales; but the parallels he drew were rather vague. There is no need to say that the lion of the Thomas-legend is the Lion of the tribe of Sākya, when it may just as well be the Lion of the tribe of Judah. Incited by Rendel Harris, I have searcht those Acts for more distinct traces of Buddhist influence, and he seems

(13) Geography II. V. 12.

(14) Rae: Syrian Church in India. Edin., 1892, p. 22.

(15) Apud Sylvain Lévi: Journal Asiatique, 1897.

to think I have found some. In a prayer which is present in certain recensions, the Apostle addresses the Holy Spirit by the un-Christian title of "presbyter of the five members," which are :

Intelligence

Thought

Purpose

Reflection

Reasoning

Now, Nos. 1-3 correspond to the first three of the Buddhist *members of wisdom*, which occur so frequently in the Pāli texts.(16) The last two are also Buddhist (*vitakka-vicāro*). The basis of the Acts of Thomas is Christian, and the Buddhist element is subordinate, but it is there. The miracles of healing are Christian, for, beyond a few cases of mind-cure, I know of none such in the Pāli Canon. On the other hand, the title, "good Physician," applied to Christ, is Buddhist, not Christian. This epithet, which is popular among Christians to this day, is nowhere in the New Testament, but is found in the Buddhist Canon.(17)

Besides the Acts of Thomas there is a Gospel of Thomas. Tho neither of these books belongs

(16) E. g., in the Book of the Great Decease. An entire section of the *Samyutta Nikāyo* is also devoted to them (Bojjhango.)

(17) *Sutta Nipāto* 560; *Itivuttaka* 100. "Incomparable physician," is the exact phrase. (Cf Anesaki's book, pp. 212-213).

to the first century, wherewith we now are dealing, it is convenient to treat them here, for the sake of their feigned apostolic author and his supposed connection with India. The Gospel of Thomas, like his Acts, contains a probable Buddhist element; for we find therein the same legend as in the Lalita Vistara, how the spiritual hero showed a knowledge of the alphabet when a master attempted to teach him. This story in both Buddhist and Christian apocrypha (for the Lalita Vistara is a Buddhist *apocryphon*) belongs to the same sphere of folk-lore. If there is borrowing, it is on the Christian side: the Lalita Vistara is a book of Indian antecedents and of Indian development. Tho the present Sanskrit MSS. of it have all been transcribed since the Christian era, yet Beal has pointed out a Chinese life of Buddha translated in the first century which, if not identical with the Lalita Vistara, is closely akin. (See p. 85 above.)

In the first century, or perhaps in the second, there reigned in the valley of the Indus the Buddhist emperor Kanishka, whose famous Council did so much to give political prestige to patristic Buddhism. One of this monarch's coins, which has come down to us, actually has on it the image of Buddha, with his name in Greek letters: (18)

BO△△O.

Wherever this coin circulated the name of

(18) Percy Gardner: Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India: London, 1886.

Buddha would be known, and many a Greek may have seen it for the first time thereupon.

In the first century also (the reign of Claudius) the naturalist Pliny met with ambassadors from Ceylon.⁽¹⁹⁾ This embassy arose from the circumstance that a Roman voyager was driven to that island by a storm, and stayed there six months. As he *learnt the language*, he must have gotten to know something about the religion. Now, Pliny understood from his informants that Hercules was worshipt in the island. As the Greeks and the Romans always endeavored to express the names of foreign deities by equivalents among their own, Hercules in this case probably means Buddha. Moreover, the Singhalese told the Romans that there were five hundred towns in their island. Now, five hundred is a favorite round number in the Pāli texts, and merely means a goodly quantity. There is no proof that the Ceylon ambassadors were Brahminizing Tamils, as Priaulx and Lightfoot maintained, and that Pliny's Hercules was Rāma. Hercules is both human and divine enough to be an equivalent for Gotamo. The islanders drest like Arabs, and traded with the Cheras of Southern India ("Seres" being probably a scribal blunder, says Kennedy).

In the latter part of the first century flourisht Dion Chrysostom who, in an oration to the Alexandrians, reminded them that in their cosmopolitan

(19) Nat. Hist. VI. 24.

city were to be found *Bactrians* and Scythians, Persians and *Hindus*. He also has a discourse on a Libyan fable. Now, Jacobs has shown that these very Libyan fables were akin to the Hindū, and that a number of them found their way into the Talmud.(20) Their Hindū origin is proved by the fact that, of those found in Hindū, Greek and Hebrew forms, the *Hebrew form agrees with the Hindū against the Greek*. The first of these Talmudic fables which can be dated is the Lion and the Crane, in the Great Commentary on the Pentateuch: it was told by a Rabbi in A. D. 118. Rabbi Meir, in the second century, was the last of the Talmudic fabulists: he knew three hundred "fox-fables." Now, the fables collected by Babrius in the third century from Esopic and Libyan sources appear to have been three hundred in number. Rabbi Jochanon, in the first century, is said to have known both the fox-fables and the Libyan fables (*Mishle Kobsim*). There is no need to make the Ceylon embassy the channel whereby these stories got into Palestine: there was intercourse enough without that. The discovery of the monsoons, in the middle of the first century, together with the unsettled state of Parthia, increast the Indian trade of Alexandria. In this century or the next was written

(20) *Æsop's Fables*. Edited by Joseph Jacobs. London, 1889. Hermann Jacobi (S. B. E. XLV. p. xli) has pointed out that the Jain version of the Parable of the Talents originated in India, not in Palestine. See also Carus in *Open Court*, March, 1905.

The Periplus of the Red Sea, a manual of Egyptian trade with India ; while in the middle of the second century the Geography of Ptolemy showed a knowledge of Asia, to the confines of the Chinese Empire. At the foot of the Bolor Tagh Ptolemy marks a trading-post where business was done with the Seræ or Seres.(21)

Who were the Seres? The learned researches of Lassen and Reinaud make it clear that they were the inhabitants of the Chinese Empire. According to these scholars, the name is neither geographical nor ethnological, but commercial, and means *the Silk People*. But the term was used with great latitude, and is also associated with India. In the Jātaka Book there is an Indian country called Seri,(22) while even to-day there is a region and a town of Sirikul in the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, just north of Cashmere. There is also a dialect in Sindh called Siraiki. A mixt caste or people, the Sairandhras (also corrupted into Sairindhras) are mentioned by the Hindū geographer Varāha Mihira, of the sixth century A. D. This term apparently means Seres and Andhras, or Seres subject to the Andhra dynasty, which arose in the

(21) The Seres are mentioned by Virgil (Georgics II. 121) and by Horace. The latter (Carm. I. 12) has "Seras et Indos," thus recognizing their difference yet contiguity. For the classical references generally, see Lassen, Vol. I. p. 320.

(22) Jātaka 3. The Telavāha of the Jātaka is probably the Tel, a tributary of the Mahānadī, and still an oil-bearer, as the name implies.

Dekhan, conquered Magadhā in B. C. 26, and ruled India until A. D. 430.(23) Cunningham places the Sairandhras east and south of the Satlaj, in the modern Sarhind. It is the region where the Satlaj and the Jamna nearly meet.

Now, Fā-hian,(24) in the fifth century, describes an idyllic people, who were governed without capital punishment, were vegetarians and abstainers from wine; and he places them to the south of this region of Sarhind.(25) This is the famous Middle Country of the Brahmins.(26) Onesicritus, a companion of Alexander in the fourth century before Christ, described the Musicani, a similar people.(27) They had gold and silver mines, yet did not use those metals: so also Fā-hian's Middle-Country men used cowries. Now Buddha forbade the use of gold and silver to monks,(28) and if his religion became earnestly adopted by a State, it is easy to see how the prohibition would extend to the laity. Even the laity were forbidden to deal in slaves,(29) and Onesicritus says the Musicani had none.

(23) Dutt: *Ancient India*: London, 1893, p. 118.

(24) *Ancient Geography of India*: London, 1871.

(25) Fā-hian, Cap. 16.

(26) To be carefully distinguisht from the Middle Country of the Buddhist Book of Discipline.

(27) Strabo, Geog. XV. I. 34.

(28) Pātimokkha (S. B. E. XIII, p. 26.)

(29) Anguttara Nikāyo, V. 177. Translated by me in leaflet form (Philadelphia, 1900).

Again, the Clementine Recognitions, in the third Christian century, have a like idyllic description of the Seres, in a passage ascribed to the school of Bardesanes, a Syrian Christian, 200 A. D., who is credited with a work on the Indian Gymnosophists.(30) The Musicani, the Sairandhras and the Middle-Country-men are some hundreds of miles apart, but they are all in the region bounded by the Indus, the Jamna, and the Vindhya Mountains. As the classical writers spoke loosely, and as the same people could change their location, or the same name be more widely applied, or the same civilization be extended in its influence, the three writers in question,—a Greek of the fourth century before Christ, a Christian of the third century after him, and a Chinese Buddhist of the fifth,—may all be describing the same folk.

Pliny, in the first century, apparently makes the Seres the Chinese, describing their situation in North-Eastern Asia, after passing the wastes and savages of Siberia.(31) Their manners are mild and they shun intercourse with strangers. They are doubtless the same as the Seræ described to Pliny by the ambassadors from Ceylon as dwelling beyond the Emodian Mountains, and having no proper language, but only uncouth sounds: they

(30) Nathaniel Larder, Works: London, 1788, Vol. 2, p. 299. Our quotation, about to follow, is taken from *The Laws of Countries*, the Syriac text of which was found by Cureton. There is a French translation by Nau. (Paris, 1899.)

(31) Nat. Hist. VI. 20.

also are reserved in their intercourse.(32) The cotton-tree of the Seres is apparently mentioned by Pliny. Now, cotton was a Hindū product, and the Sanskrit word for it, *karpāsa*, was borrowed by the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. Tho known in China as a garden plant, it was not raised there for trade until the Tartar conquest in the thirteenth century.(33) The Seres, with their cotton-plant, would therefore be a Hindū people; but the western nations confused cotton and silk. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, who, following Ptolemy, places the Seres in Chinese Turkestan, mentions the silk (*sericum*) there, and says that silk, formerly worn only by nobles, was now used by the lowest.(34) He probably means

(32) Ibid., VI. 24. The Seres north of the Himālayas are of course the true ones, not to be confounded with the Cheras mentioned above (p. 123).

(33) The Cotton-Plant. (U. S. Department of Agriculture: Washington, 1896, p. 20.)

(34) Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII. 6. See also Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, articles *Emodi* and *Æchardes*, which are much clearer than the article *Serica*.

Gerini, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1897, also identifies the *Æchardes* with the Tarim, tho he extends it to the Hwangho, which the Chinese believed to have underground connection with the Tarim. The name *Æchardes* appears to survive in the name Ukiat (French Oukiat) a tributary of the Tarim, also called the Shakh-yar-daria. (Vivien St. Martin, appendix to Julien's Hiouen Thsang, Vol. 3, p. 265). It appears to me that the name of the Auxasian Mountains, one of the three sources of the *Æchardes*, is preserved in the modern Ak-su, and Gerini evidently agrees with this, for he identifies these mountains with the Tien-Shan, just north of Ak-su and Harashar.

cotton, for it seems that silk was not known here so early.(35) This country is the true home of the Seres. It is described by the Chinese pilgrims as zealously Buddhist. The names of the mountains and rivers given by Ptolemy and Ammianus identify Serica with Chinese Turkestan beyond a doubt.

But ancient authors speak of Seres not only in Turkestan, but in China and in Parthia; for Hippolytus tells us that Elkesai got his mixt religion "from Seres of Parthia."(36) Now, what class of men, of Hindū origin, were to be found in all these places?(37) Answer: Buddhists. It is to be noted that Pliny is the first to find them (as we presume) in China, whither they went in the sixties of the first century. Pliny wrote in the seventies. But Buddhists were known in the Chinese Empire before the time of Christ; and after all, Pliny may not have been describing Siberia and China, but regions further south.

I will now transcribe the three descriptions of Buddhist civilization already mentioned, using the current translations.

Strabo (quoting Onesicritus) says this : (38)

He expatiates also in praise of the country of Musicanus, and relates of the inhabitants what is

(35) Klaproth and Reinaud: *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1863, p. 126.

(36) Hippolytus: *Haer* IX. 8.

(37) Pausanias (VI. 26) reports an opinion that the Seres were a mixture of Scythians and Hindūs.

(38) *Geography* XV. i. 34. Cunningham places the

common to other Indian tribes, that they are long lived, that life is protracted even to the age of one hundred and thirty years: (the Seres, however, are said by some writers to be still longer lived); that they are temperate in their habits and healthy, altho the country produces everything in abundance.

The following are their peculiarities: to have a kind of Lacedemonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold or silver, altho they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedemonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war and the like, to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice.

Such are the accounts of those who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

Musicani on the eastern bank of the Indus, in latitude $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North.

Estlin Carpenter has pointed out to me that there is mention of a Hindū settlement in Babylonia in the cuneiform texts, but Albert T. Clay tells me that the reading is uncertain. Another Philadelphia scholar, however, William J. Hinke, quotes Rawlinson's *Inscriptions of Western Asia* (Vol. II. 53, 7 b) and Strassmaier's *Darius* (379: 32) as confirming the fact that there was a town called Hindāmi "on the other side of the Euphrates," but whether it means a settlement of Hindūs we cannot yet say.

The *Clementine Recognitions* say this : (39)

There are, in every country or kingdom, laws imposed by men, enduring either by writing or simply thru custom, [which no one easily transgresses. In short, the first] Seres, (40) [who dwell at the beginning of the world,] (41) have a law not to know murder, [nor adultery,] nor whoredom, and not to commit theft, and not to worship idols; and in all that country, which is very large, there is neither temple [nor image,] nor harlot nor adulteress, nor is any thief brought to trial. But neither is any man ever slain there; and no man's liberty of will is compelled, according to your doctrine, by the fiery star of Mars, to use the sword for the murder of man; nor does Venus, in conjunction with Mars, compel to adultery, altho of course with them Mars occupies the middle circle of heaven every day. But amongst the Seres the fear of laws is more powerful than the configuration (42) of *genesis*.

There are likewise amongst the Bactrians, in the Indian countries, immense multitudes of Brahmins, who also themselves, from the tradition of their ancestors and peaceful customs and laws, neither commit murder nor adultery nor worship idols, (43) nor have the practise of eating animal

(39) Clem. Recog. IX. 19.

(40) Eusebius omits. (Ev. Præp. VI. 10.)

(41) Eusebius transposes, with different meaning, and has not "who dwell." The words in brackets that follow are omitted by him.

(42) Latin, *constellatio*.

(43) Latin, *simulacra*. Above, it is rendered "image," while the word "idols" is *idola*. Cf. Arrian, Indica 10: "The

food, are never drunk, never do anything maliciously, but always fear God. And these things indeed they do, tho the rest of the Indians commit both murders and adulteries, and worship idols and are drunken, etc.

The passage about the Seres, if not borrowed from the school of Bardesanes, may come from the companions of Alexander, like the story in Strabo. But the ensuing account of the Bactrians must be of later date, for the Bactrian Buddhists are evidently meant, and Buddhism entered Bactria under Asoko, in the third century B. C. The following passage, in the Clementine Recognitions, is from a part of the work not ascribed to Bardesanes: (44)

The Seres, because they live chastely, are kept free from all [evils]; for with them it is unlawful to come at a woman after she has conceived, or while she is being purified. (45) No one there eats unclean flesh, no one knows aught of sacrifices: all are judges to themselves according to justice.

The Buddhists have always been non-sacrificial, and in their first five hundred years they made no idols. It was for this reason that Celsus, in the second century, called the Seres atheists (*'αθεοι*). (46) But

Hindūs make no monuments to the deceased." This refers to *μνημῆτα*, or ornamental sepulchers: it does not preclude the rudimentary primeval topes.

(44) Clem. Recog. VIII. 48.

(45) Compare the conduct of Buddha's mother (Dīgha 14 and Majjhima 123). The Essenes also practised it. (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 13.) The Hindū Law-book of Vishṇu enjoins it. (LXIX. 17).

(46) Origen, Contra Celsum VII. 62.

such a character has never belonged to the religion of China, whether ancient or modern : the Chinese have sacrificed animals from remote antiquity, and their ancestral tablets are ornamented with images of monsters. That the Seres were Buddhists there can be no doubt ; and the above passages constitute *an early Christian eulogy of Buddhism*.

Even four hundred years after Christ, when images were common, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim could write thus : (47)

All south from this [Mathurā and the Jamna] is named the Middle Kingdom. In it the heat and cold are finely tempered, and there is neither hoarfrost nor snow. The people are numerous and happy ; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules. Only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay (a portion of) the gain from it. If they want to go, they go ; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or (other) corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances (of each case). Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Thruout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the *Candālas*. This is the name for those who are (held to be) wicked men, and live apart from others. When they enter the gate of a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men

(47) Fā Hian, Cap. 16, Legge's translation, 1886.

know and avoid them, and do not come into contact with them. In that country they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butchers' shops and no dealers in intoxicating drinks. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries. Only the *Candālas* are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat.

Much commentary will yet be made upon these remarkable passages. They exhibit a true and consistent picture of Buddhism in its palmy days.(48) They are confirmed by Pliny's description of Ceylon in the first century : (49) he says they had neither slavery nor lawsuits; the king was elective and liable to impeachment and even death. Capital sentences generally, however, could be appealed from to a jury of seventy.

Ever since the Chinese arms were pusht to the Bolor Tagh in the second century before Christ, there has been intercourse between the Chinese and the Parthians or the Persians ; (50) and between the Chinese and the Hindūs longer still. But what immediately concerns us is the intercourse of the

(48) The influence of Buddhism on civilization has been well treated by James Emerson Tennent in his standard work on Ceylon (London, 1859). The artificial lakes or reservoirs of Ceylon are among the wonders of the world.

(49) Nat. Hist. VI. 24, quoted before.

(50) Beal : Buddhism in China: London, 1884, p. 45.

It is significant that the Septuagint should have *Persians* in Isaiah XLIX 12, as a translation of *Sinim*. If Sin were really China, it would only be known through a Bactrian or Persian medium.

There is a valuable work, *China and the Roman Orient*, by F. Hirth (Shanghai, 1885.) It has been pointed out to me by

Greeks and Romans with the East. Fergusson has shown that, after the conquests of Alexander, there was a continual march of Greek art across the continent of Asia. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Hellenists were carving statues of Buddha in Bactrian monasteries, and the Acts of Thomas represent that a Hindū agent came to Palestine to seek for artificers. This Græco-Indian art was centered in the city of Taxila in the Panjāb, which is often mentioned by Greek writers; while, according to Hindū ones, it was a seat of universal learning. How often, in the Jātaka tales, is the Bodhisat educated at Taxila!

I will not be so bold as to associate the Essenes with Buddhists, though Beal's identification of 'Εσσηνοί, 'Εσσαιοί, with *Isino*, *Isayo*, the two plural forms of a common Pāli term for a Buddhist, is very tempting.(51) I have found both of these forms in the *Samyutta Nikāyo*. If ever Essenism had a Buddhist element in it, it was certainly overlaid with others, notably Mazdean. The names of the angels and the books that the Essenes might not com-

my friend Wilfred H. Schoff, secretary of the Philadelphia Museums, and he tells me that Chinese silk and other products were carried overland to the head of the Persian Gulf. At the time of Christ this trade was in the hands of the Parthians, who craftily had kept it from the Chinese by telling them that the route was dangerous. Direct trade between Rome and China began under Marcus Aurelius, called in the Chinese Annals An-tun (Antonine). A Chinese ambassador had described the eastern Roman Empire in A. D. 97.

(51) Abstract of Four Lectures: London, 1882, p. 163.

municate could not be from genuine Buddhism, which is exoteric and non-magical. The lawgiver whom Josephus says they honored was probably Zoroaster.(52)

The Essenes had a doctrine of pre-existence, but not of transmigration. Now, pre-existence without transmigration is Mazdean. This confirms Lightfoot's position, that Mazdeism influenced the Essenes. Philo's description of them, in his essay *On the Virtuous being also free*, has the same mixture of non-Buddhist and quasi-Buddhist practises. Philo associates the Essenes with the Hindū gymnosophists; not, however, as having a common origin but as both exemplifying the freedom of virtue. For this reason, viz., that the emancipated human spirit in all ages, when establishing a society, is liable to do the same things, we cannot predicate a connection between Essenism and Buddhism as proven, but only as possible. The possibility is heightened by two things: (1) the connection reported by Aristotle between a Jewish sect near Damascus and the Hindū philosophers; and (2) the persistent efforts, in the second and third centuries after Christ, on the part of heresiarchs (Elkesai and Mānī) to frame an eclecticism out of Mazdeism and Buddhism. Why should not this tendency reach back further than Mānī and Elkesai, and recede even to the times of Thomas and Matthew, of Ptolemy and Asoko, of Aristotle and Alexander?

We now come to Elkesai. Hippolytus tells us

(52) Josephus, Wars, Book II. viii. 7.

that this teacher's book was obtained "from Seres of Parthia." (53) This was at the end of the first century, the year 100 being referred to as the opening of a new era. Now, Elkesai's book taught that Christ was repeatedly incarnate—a thoroly Buddhist idea; and we have already seen that Seres are Buddhists. But Elkesai's baptism and angelology are more likely Mazdean. (54)

Without going to so late an age as that of Mānī (third century) or, later still, to the Pahlavi version of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, we may find earlier traces of religious eclecticism in the Persian or Parthian Empire. The predecessor of Mānī called himself Terebinthus and Buddha, and gave out that he was born of a virgin. (55) He traveled among the Persians who were settled in Babylonia. His doctrine of a virginal birth was either late Buddhist or else Mazdean. It is the Savors of Mazdeism who are born of virgins by means of the miraculously preserved seed of Zoroaster: Buddha's mother, on the other hand, tho pure and good, is not a virgin but a wife. Terebinthus (a name, I strongly

(53) Haer. IX. 8.

(54) Baptism is no part of a genuine Buddhist initiation, and the Essene practise may therefore be Chaldean, Parsi or Levitical. The phrase, "sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship," in the Book of the Great Decease, receives no confirmation from the Book of Discipline, and is therefore figurative. With baptismal rites in later corrupt Buddhism we have nothing to do.

(55) Socrates, H. E. I. 22.

suspect, derived from his supposed Bo-tree) (56) wrote four books: *Mysteries, Gospel, Treasure, and Chapters*. Each of these titles is Buddhist: *Adbhuta, Saddharma, Nidhi* and *Kanda*. In fact, *Nidhi-Kanda*, "Treasure-chapter," is a well-known Pāli Sutta, in an ancient and popular Buddhist anthology. Now, we know from Chinese records that there was much Buddhist propaganda in Bactria and Parthia in the early Christian centuries: many monks from these parts took Buddhist books into China. If the records of Western Buddhists had been as carefully kept as those of the Chinese, we should doubtless have knowledge of their activity in the valley of the Euphrates. But the hurricane of Islām destroyed them. Sylvain Lévi, however, tells a story from an Armenian historian of a Hindū colony in Armenia, which lasted from the first century to the fourth.(57) It is such links as this that enable us to understand how it was that the early Christian Gnostics got hold of Hindū ideas. Hippolytus tells us that the Docetists maintained that Christ came to abolish transmigration.(58) Now Gotamo says, on the first page of the *Itivuttaka*, the Buddhist Logia-Book: **I am your surety against return to earth.** Moreover, according to Cyril and Epiphanius, the predecessor of Tere-

(56) Cf. the Bo-trees of different Buddhas, Dīgha 14, translated by me (Philadelphia, 1899) and now by Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 2.)

(57) *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1891.

(58) Haer. VIII. 3.

binthus, one Scythianus, had made his fortune in the Indian trade and brought Hindū books to Alexandria. This was in the first century, or at latest in the second.

Baur and Garbe have, moreover, pointed out that the Gnostic classification of men as material, psychical and spiritual, corresponds to the Three Gunas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.(59) Plutarch gives us an example of a barbarian (evidently a Hindū or a Hindū proselyte) talking philosophy to a Greek.(60) He made his appearance every year in the region of the Red Sea, living the rest of the time in the wilds, and having intercourse with demons and pastoral nymphs. He said the demons inspired him, and explained a doctrine found in the first Sutta of the Long Collection: how that spirits, when expelled from a lower sphere, upon the dissolution of the universe, migrate into a higher one until a certain cycle is fulfilled. His notion of a plurality of worlds may also be Hindū, but his number 183 is hard to account for.

Basilides, in the first half of the second century, has also a parallel to the Sutta mentioned. The passage is so extraordinary, so thoroly Buddhist, and so unlikely to have been derived elsewhere,

(59) Richard Garbe: *Philosophy of Ancient India*: Chicago, 1897, p. 48.

(60) De Def. Orac. 21, 22.

that I will quote both it and the Buddhist text. The Sutta says: (61)

Now there comes also a time, brethren, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long, long period, this world-system passes away. And when this happens, beings have mostly been re-born in the World of Radiance, and there they dwell made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from themselves, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus they remain for a long, long period of time.

Now there comes also a time, brethren, when, sooner or later, this world-system begins to re-evolve. When this happens the Palace of Brahmā appears, but it is empty. And some being or other, either because his span of years has past or his merit is exhausted, falls from that World of Radiance, and comes to life in the Palace of Brahmā. And there also he lives made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from himself, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus does he remain for a long, long period of time.

Now there arises in him, from his dwelling there so long alone, a dissatisfaction and a longing: "Oh! would that other beings might come to join me in this place!" And just then, either because their span of years has past or their merit is exhausted, other beings fall from the World of Radiance, and appear in the Palace of Brahmā as companions to him, and in all respects like him. On this, brethren,

(61) Brahma-Jāla Sutta, Rhys Davids' translation, 1899. (*Dialogs*, Vol. 1, p. 30.)

the one who was first re-born thinks thus to himself: "I am Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be. These other beings are of my creation. And why is that so? A while ago I thought, Would that they might come! And on my mental aspiration, behold the beings came."

And those beings themselves, too, think thus: "This must be Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be. And we must have been created by him. And why? Because, as we see, it was he who was here first, and we came hither after that."

On this, brethren, the one who first came into existence there is of longer life, and more glorious, and more powerful than those who appeared after him. And it might well be, brethren, that some being, on his falling from that state, should come hither. And having come hither he might go forth from the household life into the homeless state. And having thus become a recluse he, by reason of ardor, of exertion, of application, of earnestness, of careful thought, reaches up to such rapture of heart that, rapt in heart, he calls to mind his last dwelling-place, but not the previous ones. He says to himself: "That illustrious Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme

One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be, he by whom we were created, he is steadfast, immutable, eternal, of a nature that knows no change, and he will remain so for ever and ever. But we who were created by him have come hither as being impermanent, mutable, limited in duration of life."

This, brethren, is the first state of things on account of which, starting out from which, some recluses and Brahmins, being Eternalists as to some things, and Non-Eternalists as to others, maintain that the soul and the world are partly eternal and partly not.

According to Hippolytus, Basilides taught this: (62)

The Gospel then came, says [Basilides,] first from the Sonship thru the Son, that was seated beside the Archon, to the Archon; and the Archon learned that he was not God of the universe, but was begotten. But, [ascertaining that] he has above himself the deposited treasure of that Ineffa-

(62) Haer. VII. 14, Edinburgh translation. Our present introduction was written long before the appearance of Kennedy's great article on Basilides and Buddhism (J. R. A. S. 1902.) But the quotation here dealt with is overlooked.

Renan long since pointed out the Buddhist ring about some doctrines of the Peratae, who laid claim to *pass beyond destruction*. (Hippolytus V. 11.) They held, moreover, that whatever is begotten must also perish. But, as Hippolytus says, their system is astrological. Their proper names are Greek and Babylonian, and if there be any Hindū influence, it is remote.

ble and Unnameable [and] Non-existent One, and of the Sonship, he was both converted and filled with terror, when he was brought to understand in what ignorance he was [involved.] This, he says, is what has been declared : The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. For, being orally instructed by Christ, who was seated near, he began to acquire wisdom [inasmuch as he thereby] learns who is the Non-existent One, what the Sonship [is,] what the Holy Spirit [is,] what the apparatus of the universe [is], and what is likely to be the consummation of things. This is the wisdom spoken in a mystery, concerning which, says [Basilides,] Scripture uses the following expressions : Not in words taught of human wisdom, but in [those] taught of the Spirit. The Archon, then, being orally instructed, and taught, and being [thereby] filled with fear, proceeded to make confession concerning the sin which he had committed in magnifying himself. This, he says, is what is declared : I have recognized my sin, and I know my transgression, [and] about this I shall confess forever.

This idea, that an angelic personage wrongly imagines himself to be the Supreme Being, is found, I believe, in no religion but Buddhism. The further idea, that he should be instructed by Christ, is also found there : in the forty-ninth Dialog of the Middling Collection, Gotamo instructs the Brahmā Bakko that he is not immortal.

Before we leave the second century we must notice two things :

1. The mention of Buddha by Clement of Alexandria ;

2. The finding of the Gospel of Matthew in India by Pantænus.

Clement, in the closing decade of the second century, says this : (63)

Philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations. And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks were the prophets of the Egyptians ; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians ; and the Druids among the Gauls ; and the *Samanos* among the Bactrians ; and the philosophers of the Celts ; and the Magi of the Persians, who foretold the Savior's birth, and came to the land of Judea, guided by a star. The Hindū gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes : some of them called *Samanos*, and others Brahmins. And those of the *Samanos* who are called forest-dwellers neither inhabit cities nor have roofs over them, but are clad in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. They know neither marriage nor begetting of children, like those now called Encratites. There are also among the Hindūs those who obey the precepts of Buddha, whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity (or, *Samana*-ship) they have exalted into a god. (64)

Clement may be quoting Megasthenes here, or Alexander Polyhistor : we do not know. He quotes both these authors by name in this very chapter.

(63) Stromat I. 15.

(64) Lightfoot corrects Priaulx in criticizing this passage, which is abridged by Cyril, and not necessarily quoted from Alexander Polyhistor, as Priaulx believed.

Polyhistor described the Bactrian topes, and Clement also quotes his description in another place, as we have seen before. There may have been Buddhist books in the Alexandrine Library—a thing we should very much like to know. We do know from Pliny that there were Zoroastrian ones translated by Hermippus ; and yet Clement, who alludes to Zoroaster, does not quote them, but says that secret Mazdean books were read by the disciples of Prodicus the heretic. Clement's non-quotation of Buddhist books therefore cannot of itself throw doubt on their existence in Alexandria ; but, taken together with the silence of the ancients, it does throw doubt. Still the fact remains that Megasthenes, Alexander Polyhistor, and other writers on India were read in Alexandria ; while the intercourse which we have proven between East and West makes it probable that more direct knowledge existed there. This intercourse also makes it likely that India itself is meant in the story of Pantænus, and not merely some Red Sea country loosely called India. Milne Rae, in his work on the Syrian Church in India quoted above, considers that Jerome's identification of Pantænus' India with the land of the Brahmins proves the case. The monsoon had brought Alexandria near to the ports on the Indus ; and just as the Mahdi's proclamation of 1884 spoke of Suez and Constantinople as neighbors because the Nubians embark at the one for the other,(65) so in the second century was India the neighbor of

(65) Renan: *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, Vol. 2.

Alexandria. It is therefore to be taken as a fact of history that when Pantænus went to India, he found the Gospel of Matthew already there. Renan has shown that Semitic dialects were engrafted upon Indian languages by traffickers ; and the widespread use of Semitic letters on coins and inscriptions makes it quite natural for Pantænus to have found the First Gospel in India in Aramaic ones.(66)

Moreover, at the end of the fourth century, Chrysostom tells us that the Hindūs, as well as the Syrians, Egyptians, Persians and Ethiops, had translated the doctrines of John.(67) It is in a rhetorical passage about the influence of John, compared with that of Pythagoras and Plato ; but as we know that versions of the New Testament have come down to us from most of (68) the other nations mentioned, it is reasonable to believe that by the time of Chrysostom the Hindūs had also a version. This is confirmed by Socrates,(69) who says that Bartholomew was appointed missionary to that part of India contiguous to Ethiopia, meaning doubtless the Coromandel coast, which was in constant communication with the Red Sea ports. Socrates also

(66) Asoko's edict at Shāhbāzgarhi is in a Semitic character, tho in a Pāli or Prākrit dialect ; and this character continued in use for some time later. See Rawlinson's *Parthia* : N. Y. 1893, pp. 391 and 415.

(67) Homily 2 on John.

(68) Hug says that the Persian Gospels are post-Muslim, so that we cannot count upon that version as early.

(69) H. E. I. 19.

tells us that the Indians of the interior were not converted till the time of Constantine. This period coincides with what Max Müller calls the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature, whereto he ascribes the later episodes in the Great Epic, such as the *Bhavagad Gītā*. If this be so, then the incarnation-doctrine of the latter may have a Christian origin. Other possible allusions to Christianity in the Great Epic have been noticed by Washburn Hopkins.(70) Cosmas Indicopleustes found the Syrian church in India in the sixth century, and Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth.(71) The disappearance of the Hindū version of the New Testament is much less astonishing than that of the Pāli Canon on the Indian continent.

The names of Greek benefactors of native shrines are found engraven in Indian caves, as at Kharli.(72) The Kharli cave is Buddhist and appears to antedate the Christian era. Other inscriptions of the same kind belong to the early Christian centuries. Now, we have seen that there was intercourse—religious, philosophic, literary, artistic and

(70) Religions of India : Boston, 1895, p. 431.

(71) Hakluyt Society : London, 1857. The same volume (*India in the Fifteenth Century*) contains the travels of Athanasius Nitikin, who found the expiring remnants of Buddhism in central India, sadly mixt with Çaivism.

(72) Beal : Buddhism in China : London, 1884, p. 139. Sylvain Lévi : Revue de l'Histoire des Religions : Paris, 1891, part 1, p. 44. Minayeff : Recherches sur le Bouddhisme : Paris, 1894, p. 106.

(One inscription reads : *Dhamma-Yavanasa Dhenikasa*, i. e. donation of the pious Greek Dhenika. A. M.)

commercial—between the Greeks and the Hindūs, all the time from Megasthenes to Hippolytus. Estlin Carpenter has pointed out that the latter writer (third century) gives the fullest account of the Hindūs that we possess since that of the former. This is probably because a traveler of the second or third century had furnisht new materials, but it does not imply any intercourse between East and West in the interval which includes the Christian era. When Estlin Carpenter wrote, in 1880, (73) Jacobs had not yet traced the Jātakas into the Talmud (1889). Strabo's observation shows that at the time of Christ the intercourse was at its height.

Albert Metzger, of the Savoy Academy of Sciences, in his *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des Origines Orientales du Christianisme* (Paris, 1906) makes a luminous survey of the intercourse between Europe and Asia. He too complains of Mediterranean exclusiveness and explains it with the usual French clearness. The substance of his explanation is this: When the Gothic invasions abruptly cut off Europe from the East, the West was shut up within itself and became morbidly monomaniac. During the long night of the Middle Ages, Europeans lost all correct idea of the world beyond the Mediterranean, which they peopled with monsters, and imagined that the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered a new world when

(73) Nineteenth Century : December, 1880.

they re-opened the ancient route to India and China. This geographical superstition persists to-day, and we fancy that farther Asia was mysteriously shut off from contact with our three classic nations, Greece, Rome and Judea. So far our friend from Chambéry. Let us deduce herefrom a useful maxim :—

AS THE ROMAN ALPHABET IS A CAGE FOR THE LINGUISTIC MIND, SO IS THE MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE A CAGE FOR THE HISTORICAL MIND.

The first century was a time of religious ferment, from the Nile to the Yangtse-Kiang. The Parthian Vologeses was collecting the scattered Zoroastrian Avesta, (74) while the Indo-Scythian Kanishka was giving imperial sanction to the Sanskrit commentaries on the Canon of the Buddhists. (75) The Emperor of China had a dream which resulted in the official introduction of Buddhism into his dominions, at the very time, perhaps the very year, when Paul was standing before Nero. (76) Thomas, says the legend, was preaching to the Hindūs, and Matthew to the Parthians (even if neither got further east than Edessa), while the Buddhist father Aṣvaghosha was carried into Bactria

(74) Darmesteter, *Introd. to S. B. E.* IV, p. xxxiii.

(75) Hiuen Tsiang, *Book III.* Cf. Rhys Davids' note in introduction to *S. B. E.* XXXVI.

(76) Harlez gives A. D. 63 (*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1893.)

by Kanishka.(77) He it was who wrote that celebrated treatise, lately translated by Suzuki in Chicago, which played for Buddhism the part of Origen for Christianity—laid the basis of a religious philosophy. Each of these daring thinkers aimed to supply the deficiencies of his Master: Origen, in the third century, framed into intellectual outlines the gnostic utterances of Jesus and the half-sketcht system of Paul; Aṣvaghosha, in the first century, establisht a relation between man and the primal Being which Gotamo had set aside.

We thus see that in the first century there arose a tidal wave of religion from the Levant to the Yellow Sea, but in earlier ages there had been similar uprisings in the region between the Ganges and the Nile. I am never tired of repeating that this region is the Holy Land of the human race, and was so regarded by the ancients, some of whom, says Strabo, considered all Asia as far as India to be consecrated to Bacchus(78). Even now we all look to that region: Hebrew and Parsi, Hindū and Christian, Buddhist and Muslim, all seek the fount of their faiths in that mystic realm. The lost religions of Babylon and Egypt were born there.

(77) Beal, *Four Lectures*, p. xi. Suzuki's translation of Aṣvaghosha's treatise on Faith: Chicago, 1900, pp. 11, 12. According to the Tibetan account, also given by Suzuki, Aṣvaghosha was too old to go to Bactria, but he sent a disciple of his, with a letter on Buddhism.

(78) Geog. X. 3. Cf. Justinus XLII. 3, where Hercules and Bacchus are called Kings of the East.

Even the Greeks and the Romans were debtors thereto for the cults of Bacchus and Mithras and perhaps for the Mysteries of Eleusis. Among the great nations of to-day, only those Chinamen and Japanese who practise their ancestral religions uninfluenced by Buddhism are aliens thereto. But, with all its corruptions, the faith of Gotamo has always been a power among them; and to-day the thoughtful among those distant Mongols set their faces toward the Ganges.

Religious ideas, like all others, are spread by political power and military force. Lightfoot has shown that even the disintegration of an empire scatters far and wide the seeds of its thought. Thus did Persian ideas persist from the Bosphorus to the Indus long after the glory had departed from the house of Cyrus. Thus too did the Greek tongue become the sacred language of the Christians when the Greek arms had long since succumbed to the Roman. Still, it is martial might that first makes a nation strong enough for its thoughts to take root among strangers, generally among those who have felt the force of its arms. So in the regions of Aram and Persia, as empire rose upon empire, wave after wave of thought, with Aramaic for a vehicle, (79) had rolled from Taxila to Damascus. (80) The Semitic idolatry of Solomon, with its germs of monotheism; the Tammuz-cult of Nebuchad-

(79) Ezra IV. 7; Josephus, *Wars*, Proem.

(80) Clem. Alex. to the Greeks, cap. 5.

nezzar;(81) the Mazdeism of Darius Hystaspes,(82) the Hellenic arts of Alexander, and the Judaism of John Hyrcanus(83) had left their impress on the East. The Greek language, which the arms of Alexander had spread over this Holy Land, became a vehicle for a Gentile version of the Old Testament, while the very king who patronized its translation received a message from Asoko. The message implies an embassy, and the eagerness of Philadelphus to collect and translate the literature of Asia would lead us to hope that Asoko sent him some specimens. Unfortunately, however, we cannot be sure that Hindū sacred oracles, whether Brahmin or Buddhist, had then been committed to writing. The Great Epic of India pronounces a curse on him who sells, defiles or *writes* the Veda;(84) but the composition of this vast body of poetry extends over a period of a thousand years, divided by the Christian era; and we do not know whether the curse was called forth by some actual attempt to write or sell the Veda, and even if so, at which end of the thousand years the attempt was made. There might have been some writing of Hindū laws at the time of Philadelphus and Asoko (for the Sūtra period had closed(85) but hardly of the Veda.

(81) Ezekiel VIII. 14.

(82) Behistān Inscription.

(83) Josephus, Antiq. XIII. ix 1; Strabo XVI. ii. 34.

(84) Max Müller: History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature: London, 1859, p. 502. Professor C. R. Lanman tells me that the passage occurs in Parvan XIII. This entire book is one of the later additions to the Epic.

As to the Buddhist oracles, the Three Baskets were first committed to writing, so far as we know, about 40. B. C., and then only at the Great Monastery in Ceylon. Four hundred years after Christ, Fā Hian found written copies rare in continental India. If any Hindū writings found their way to Alexandria they were most probably popular literature, but not the sacred books. The Talmudic fables which we have mentioned came doubtless thru an oral channel. In spite of Strabo's complaint of the ignorance of merchants, (86) some travelers must have been intelligent enough to make this transference of folk-lore. Indeed nothing in the East travels quicker than a good story.

The Greeks and Romans evidently knew more about Brahmins than about Buddhists, as we may see from writers like Hippolytus, who give clearer accounts of the former than of the latter. Megasthenes was their chief authority, and he was ambassador at a Brahmin court, before Buddhism was clothed with political power.

The monks whom Asoko had sent forth to preach the doctrines of Gotamo may have gone to Antioch and to Alexandria, but they settled no further west than Persia. Albīrūnī makes the Persian province of Khurāsān the western frontier of Buddhism, at least of its continuous extension. Mithra-worship has left traces of its prevalence from Bactria

(85) Hopkins: Religions of India (Boston, 1895, p. 8.)

(86) Geog. XV. 1. 4.

to Northumberland,(87) and if Buddhism had been half as prevalent, it would also have left remains. Every nation where it ever was planted has contributed to its literature, from Tōkyō to Astrakhan; and even where Buddhist books have disappeared, as in India proper, the national literature bears witness to its power; so that in Syria, where it has left us little, we cannot reckon it to have been a power on a footing with Hellenism and Mazdeism. And yet the migration of the Jātakas, the Buddhist touches in the Acts of Thomas, and the magical books of Scythianus leave us a loophole wherethru some influence must have past.

But there is little doubt that in Bactria Buddhist literature was actually translated into Greek. Bactra, its capital, the obscure modern town of Balkh in Afghanistan, was anciently the great entrepôt between Babylon and India.(88) It was called "the mother of cities," and all Bactria to-day is covered with their ruins. Now, Asoko founded a mission station here in the third century B. C., and in the seventh century A. D., the pilgrim Yuan Chwāṅ found at Balkh one hundred monasteries and three thousand Hīnayāna monks.(89) These

(87) Clem. Alex. to the Greeks, cap. 5 ; Beal, Buddhism in China, p. 128. The text here is just as I wrote it before reading Aiken's excellent statement of the limits of Buddhism.

(88) Strabo II. i. 15. Indian wares were brought down the Oxus. Brooks Adams: The New Empire. N. Y., 1902. (Map of ancient trade routes.)

(89) Thomas Watters: On Yuan Chwāṅ's Travels in India: London, 1904-1905, Vol. 1, p. 108.

numbers had taken time to grow, and there is the evidence of Polyhistor, already quoted, that at the time of Christ the country was full of Buddhist topes. Furthermore, a Ceylon Father of the fifth century, who had access to monastic chronicles now lost, asserts that the Greek empire was converted by a certain Scripture.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This Scripture was the *Discourse in the Squirrel Park* (at Sāketa). There is, in the Numerical Collection, exactly such a sūtra, and its subject is the Buddha's omniscience. If the spade of the archeologist could dig up a Greek version of this sūtra among the ruins at Balkh, what a career would be opened for Buddhist apologetics!

My critics tell me that I am too fond of reasoning from the unknown. But I hold it to be a cardinal duty of science to take account of the unknown and to watch for the source of strange disturbances, as Adams and Leverrier watcht for the outlying planet which was perturbing the motions of Uranus.

The Questions of King Milindo (Menander) strengthen the argument from the Discourse in the Squirrel Park. Menander, in the second century B. C., showed an interest in and a knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures which may have been founded upon a knowledge of Pāli; but even then one would expect such a patron to have some specimens of the lore he admired translated into Greek, or into

(90) Buddhaghoso's Samanta-pāsādikā, in Vol. 3, p. 317, of Oldenberg's edition of the Vinaya-piṭaka.

some vernacular. Strabo says(91) that nearly the same language pervaded Media and parts of Persia, Bactria and Sogdiana. Strabo also says(92) that the Corybantes had come from Bactria, and Euripides pictures them as passing the Bactrian Gates. When Buddhist ideas were carried westward, they would as surely be translated as the Bacchic had been.

In my third edition I inclined to the opinion that Luke had been influenced by the Buddhist Epic; and I still think, with Seydel, that one of the πολλοι of his Prolog (Luke I. 1) may have been an Aramaic poetical Gospel, now lost, which had drawn materials from the Buddha-legend, just as the Buddhist-Christian romance of Barlaam and Joasaph did a few centuries later. Luke is peculiar in having a Perean Section, which contains the parable of the Prodigal Son and other stories unknown to the Synoptic narrative, the Logia-Source or John. Now Perea was that province beyond Jordan where the influence of other cults was felt; and as the Prodigal Son (like the parable of the Talents) is a Hindū story, there is good reason to believe that other elements in Luke are also Hindū. But the use made by Luke of such material cannot be seen without a precise knowledge of the texts, Buddhist and Christian, possessed by few. Any one who will master the details will quickly perceive that Luke's alteration of the Buddhist legends is no

(91) Geog. XV. 2.8.

(92) Geog. X 3.19.

more than his alteration of the Synoptical tradition. Compare, for example, his treatment of Mark's account of the Galilean apparitions (Mark xvi. 7= Luke xxiv. 6), where, in order to enforce his view that the appearances were confined to Jerusalem, he suppresses the supper-table charge to go into Galilee (both here and at xxii. 31), but retains an echo of the words of Mark :

how he spake unto you.....in Galilee.

The author who could deal thus with his sources can have similarly transformed such themes as the Vision of the Hermit, the Angelic Heralds and their Hymn, the Prediction of the Lord's Career, the Charge to the sixty-one Missionaries, and the Penitent Brigand.

But too much has been made by my critics of such suggestions. Indeed, even the best of them—scholars like Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Otto Zöckler and Jean Réville—regard my book as an attempt to prove a connection between the two religions. But they mistake my aim : the suggestion that the younger and more eclectic religion may have borrowed from the older and simpler (93) was a mere aside, my aim being to present a tableau of the two greatest religions, in order to help them to understand each other better.

If the reader wishes to see what can be said in

(93) Tho later Buddhism has taken on foreign influences, yet primitive Buddhism was intensely Hindū, and this for centuries ; whereas Christianity had its very birth in a hot-bed of eclecticism. This is now well recognized.

favor of Christian loans from Buddhism (loans by no means of fundamental importance), let him read my two essays entitled:—

Can the Pāli Pitakas aid us in fixing the Text of the Gospels? Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 8.

Buddhist Texts Quoted as Scripture by the Gospel of John: a discovery in the lower criticism. (John vii. 38; xii. 34.) Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 41.

In the present work, this problem of loan is not the main thesis, but an inevitable side-issue.

In comparing the two Gospels we must distinguish three things:

1. The facts of the founders' lives as Eastern prophets: their fasting and desert-meditation; their missionary charge; their appointment of a successor; their preaching to the poor; their sympathy with the oppressed; their self-assertion as patterns of the race; their transfiguration on the eve of death; their forecast of faith's triumph and decline; their exaltation in the ideal world: all these may be hard biographical facts.

2. The influence upon their biographies of the hero-legends of their native lands and those of neighboring nations. Under this head come the Messianic features: the birth-marvels; the fight with fiends (with of course a foundation in fact); the expected return in glory of the Master or his remote successor; and their superhuman powers. (94)

(94) We mean here only the absurd ones, such as finding money in fishes and flying across the Ganges. The true ones, of psychic influence and healing power, come under our first head.

Under this head, the Buddha-legend may go back to the Indian Rishis, and the Christ-legend to Elijah and Elisha. Both may have caught a tinge from Zoroaster, and Christ from the earlier Buddha; while the later Buddha-legends may have been influenced by rising Christianity, as Beal suggested.

Some things indeed which come properly under No. 1 may be told under the influence of similar stories elsewhere. Hence we have mentioned the Missionary Charge under both heads. So too may certain wondrous works belong to both—be partly true and partly mythical.

3. The presence of a pre-historic hero-myth, more or less bodied forth in Osiris, Hercules and Wäinämöinen. As Greek has borrowed a few words from Sanskrit, yet both go back to an Aryan parent, so is it with the faiths. Ay, and there may be an Ugro-Aryan still farther back in the sea-like wastes of time. As in geology the fundamental gneiss of the New World is not visibly connected with that of the Old, but both are a common outcrop from the primeval earth,—while yet again at points a visible connection may be found,—so is it with religion. Under this head, therefore, are included those resemblances which have their ground in the human mind itself, and belong to the domain of psychology.

Buddhism seems to have been destined to travel from the East to the farther East; Christianity from the East to the West. Renan has said

a remarkable thing about the non-importation of Christianity into the far East :—

Arabian countries did not lend themselves at all to the new preaching, and the lands submitted to the Arsacidæ were open but little to efforts coming from Roman countries. In the geography of the apostles, the earth is very small. The first Christians never dream of the barbarian world nor of the Persian; even the Arabian world hardly exists for them. The missions of Saint Thomas to the Parthians, of Saint Andrew to the Scythians, and of St. Bartholomew in India belong to legend. The Christian imagination of the early times turns little toward the East: the goal of the apostolic journeyings was the extremity of the West, [Rom. XV. 19 and 28; Clem. Rom. 5;] in the East one would say that the missionaries regard the limit as already reached.(95)

Renan has here seized upon a great central fact with that insight which belongs to the true historian: the limitations of the apostles set the current of Christianity toward the West.

Dramatic in the highest is the course of the two great world-faiths: Buddhism has rolled from the Ganges to the Pacific, and Christianity from the Jordan, in the reverse direction, again to the Pacific, until in Japan and the United States, after their age-long and planetary march, they stand looking at each other across that ocean—once a Spanish, but now an American lake. Just as the Greek New

(95) Of course Renan is here speaking of the apostles, but he also doubts the visit of Pantænus to India in the second century, which we have maintained.

Testament words *presbyter*, *church*, and the like, are spread thru all the languages of Christendom from Hellas to Iceland, so are the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist words for the same things spread thru all the tongues of Buddhahood. Sometimes too they have encroached upon each other's realms. Thus we find the Greek and Latin *Samanæus* carrying the old Pāli word *Samano* to the banks of the Tiber; and, long before the Clavian era of cosmic intercourse, the Christian monks on Rhine and Tyne took the old term still farther from its homes on the Ganges, the Mekong and the Yang-tse-kiang.

Christianity spread the Roman form of the Phenician alphabet over Europe and America, while Buddhism spread the Pāli form over the continent of Asia and the islands of the sea. The old alphabet of the Philippine Tagals is derived from Asoko's Pāli, and in that dreamy archipelago the two great world-forces, which first met when the Spaniards landed in the sixteenth century, have now, at the dawn of the twentieth, begun a new act in the drama which only time can unroll.

Apart from the external embellishments of the two Gospels, Buddhist and Christian, there is, as Schopenhauer maintained, a profound agreement between them. On the surface, i. e. in the realm of emotion, they are diametrically contradictory: one ignoring a personal God, and the other proclaiming him; one teaching self-salvation, assisted by a Savior; the other preaching salvation thru

Christ alone, seconded by one's prayers and efforts ; one asserting a past eternity of transmigration that must end in Nirvāṇa ; the other ignoring the past, but clinging to a future eternity of personal redeemed life. Yet, deep in the region of truth, the twain are one : both proclaim the necessity of a second death, a death of self : "whoso seeketh his soul shall lose it, but he that loseth it shall find it." Both maintain, in different ways—one emotionally, and the other intellectually—that self is unreal, that we metaphysical islands were once parts of a continent, and may yet be so again. (96)

Buddha, while subordinating the office of the personal Savior, yet admits it. (97) He recognized his personal power also when he said his religion would wane after his death. Jesus said the same. According to a later authority, there were no Arahats after the first Buddhist century ; while the *Milindo* represents that Devadatto was only saved from everlasting perdition by joining the church.

The Buddhist Nirvāṇa is that of the intellect : loss of self in the universe ; the Christian Nirvāṇa is that of the heart : loss of self in others. And yet the Christian humiliation before the Deity recognizes the former truth, while the Buddhist love-meditation (*metta-cittam*) admits the latter. Only

(96) John xvii. 22, 23 ; 1 Cor. xv. 28. Matthew Arnold's wonderful expression of this, in his *Switzerland*, is, from a Hindū standpoint, the high-water-mark of European poetry.

(97) See our translations from Itivuttaka 92 and Majjhima 22.

in Christianity this second truth becomes objective and dominant. The touchstone is the Gospel cures. The works of healing are the key to Christ. Beyond such cases as we have here translated of Stoical mind-cure, the Pāli Scriptures have nothing like them. Indeed Buddha could never have wrought them : his energy was spent upon philosophy. *He* gathered strength in the wilderness to solve problems ; Jesus, to heal disease. Buddha would almost have regarded Christ's method as shallow : it was the disease of existence itself that he wanted to heal. On the other hand, even Jesus recognized the temporary nature of his cures and the stern ascendancy of evil on the physical plane, in that terrible parable of the unclean spirit's return.

The two great philosophers of the two faiths strove to fill up the deficiencies of the Masters : Origen attempted to give us the metaphysics neglected by Christ ; Aṣvaghosha, the worship neglected by Buddha. But all is so far imperfect : all that we have gotten in this stage of our planet's spiritual history is two extreme points in its orbit wherefrom to calculate the parallax of far-away stars. Without these extreme points we can only calculate on the basis of the earth's diameter, whereby no parallax can be had, so that all theology that neglects one or the other of these cosmic faiths can deal only with the neighboring planets of its own religious system, but can never hope to let loose the imprisoned mind into the vast Beyond.

The Christ-Metteyyo is yet to come, who shall make the measurement : the prophet of a perfect balance between mind and heart, whom Emerson sighed for, and for whom the ages wait.

END OF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Sacred Texts.

PART I.

THE INFANCY LEGENDS.

I. SUPERNATURAL BIRTH.

Luke i. 35.

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee : wherefore also the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God.

Middling Collection, Dialog 38 (1)

(C. T. No. 201 in the Chinese.)

Quoted in the Questions of King Milindo. p. 123 of the Pāli, but omitted in the translation in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV.

Conception takes place, O monks, by the union of three. In this world the father and mother are united. The mother may be capa-

(1) Neumann, in his German translation (Vol. I. p. 420), expands the text here, presumably from the commentary.

ble, but the genius(2) may not be ready. It is by the union of these three, O monks, that conception takes place.

(2) *Gandhabbo* (Sanskrit, *Gandharva*). Anesaki says that the Chinese reads: “fragrant deposit.”

The Vedic Gandharva (rarely more than one appears in the Rig-Veda) is guardian of the Soma, which the gods obtain from him. Indra got it by force for the human race. (Cf. Prometheus). The Gandharva makes known heavenly secrets and divine truths. He is the parent of the first human pair, Yama and Yamī. He has a mystical power over women, and is invoked at marriage. Ecstasy and possession are due to him. All these are Vedic traits, and several coincide with the functions of the Holy Ghost. In later times there were twenty-seven gandharvas, who revealed the Vedas to Vāc, the Hindū Logos. (Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.) These details have been obtained from the Sanskrit Dictionary of Monier Williams (Ed. 2, 1899.)

2. THE NATIVITY.

Neither of the Christian Nativity Legends (Matthew I.; Luke I.) have enough in common with the Buddhist to be here transcribed. I only give the following Dialog, because of the dominant idea of a wonderful birth. But the conclusion of our Infancy Section (the narrative next to this one) will present remarkable agreements with Luke II.

Dialog on Wonders and Marvels:

Middling Collection, Dialog 123.

(C. T. No. 32 in the Chinese.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvātthi in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder of the Poor. Now a number of monks, upon returning from the quest of alms, and having eaten their meal, were sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose:

“Wonderful, O brother! marvelous, O brother! is the occult power and magical might of the(1) Tathāgato: when, for example, he has knowledge of the bygone Buddhas who have gone into Nirvāṇa, have broken down obstacles and avenues, exhausted their transmigrations and past beyond all pain, and

(1) The indefinite article may be rendered here with equal propriety.

the Tathāgato perceives: 'Such were the families and such the names of the Blessed Ones; their clans were so-and-so; such were their morals, such their doctrines, their wisdom, their dwellings, and their manner of release.' "

After such talk as this, St. Ānando said unto the monks: "Wonderful, brethren, are the Tathāgātos, and endowed with wonderful qualities; marvelous, brethren! are the Tathāgatos, and endowed with marvelous qualities."

Such was the conversation among the monks when it was broken off. Now, the Lord, having arisen from retirement at eventide, came into the room of state and sat down upon the seat prepared for him. While sitting there the Lord address the monks and said: "Monks! What now is the subject of your discourse while sitting together? And what, moreover, was your conversation which you just broke off?"

[They answered:] "Here, Lord, having returned from the quest of alms and having eaten our meal, we have been sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose: 'Wonderful, O brother! marvelous, O brother! is the occult power and magical might of the Tathāgato,' [etc., repeated from above, down to the end of Ānando's speech.] "This, Lord, was our conversation which was broken off. Just then the Lord arrived."

Now the Lord address St. Ānando: "And

so, Ānando, may the wonderful and marvelous qualities of the Tathāgato become more and more apparent.”

[Ānando replied]: “*In my presence, Lord, was it heard from [the lips of] the Lord, and in my presence received: ‘Ānando, the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he is born with the Tusitā body.’ This fact, Lord, that the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he is born with the Tusitā body, I hold to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Lord.* (2)

2. “‘Ānando, the future Buddha abode for a lifetime in the Tusitā body.’ (3)

3. “‘Ānando, the future Buddha is mindful

(2) Repetitions similar to those italicized in the above paragraph occur at the beginning and the end of the eighteen statements which follow. They are here numbered for convenience. Nos. 3 to 18 are substantially identical with the passage in Dīgha 14, translated by me from the Pāli (The Marvelous Birth of the Buddhas: Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 5-11.) Passages or phrases found in other parts of the Pāli Canon are also italicized. They prove that the Nativity document is one of the ancient strata of the Scriptures. (See my note in *The Open Court*: June, 1899.) It is however of secondary antiquity, being unknown to the Classified Collection, the synoptical backbone of the Āgamas.

(3) One of the spheres of the *devaloko* or angel-world. The word *body* may also be rendered *host*, i.e. *angelic society*.

Conversation of the monks and other things are omitted in the Chinese, and the birth of Kāṣyapa Buddha in the Tusitā is repeated. All is spoken by Ānando. (A. M.)

and conscious when he vanishes from the Tusitā body, and descends into his mother's womb.' (4)

4. "Ānando, when the future Buddha vanishes from the Tusitā body, and descends into his mother's womb, then, in the world of the angels, together with those of Māro and Brahmā, and unto the race of philosophers and Brahmins, princes and peoples, there appears a splendor, limitless and eminent, transcending the angelic might of the angels. And even in the boundless realms of space, with their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt in the sky,—there too appears the splendor limitless and eminent, transcending the very might of the angels, so that beings who are born there (5) observe among themselves, by

(4) Statement No. 3 occurs in the Decease-Book III. 15. The words *Descent of the Lord* (Bhagavato okranti) occur among the Bharahat inscriptions in India (third or second century B. C.) as the title of a sculpture representing the Incarnation.

(5) This passage, down to "born here," with slight variations, occurs in the Numerical Collection, IV. 127. The substance of it is also in the Sanskrit of the Divyāvadāna, p. 204.

Māro, the Buddhist Tempter, is not purely evil, like the Zoroastrian Devil, but an angel in good standing, being the ruler of the highest sphere of devos, immediately below the seraphic Brahmā-heaven. Karl Neumann regards him as the equivalent of the Greek Pan.

The house was full of light at the birth of Moses, according to the Talmud (Wünsche: *Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*: 1878, p. 14.) Before the birth of Zoroaster the village "became all luminous." (S. B. E. XLVII, p. 30). Wünsche compares with the Talmudic birth-light the

reason of that splendor: "Friend, it is said that other beings are born here, and this myriad-fold universe quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles: a splendor limitless and eminent appears in the world transcending even the angelic might of the angels." "

5. " 'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, the four sons of the angels, who keep watch over the four quarters, approach him and say: "Neither mortal nor demon shall harm the future Buddha or his mother." "

6. " 'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she is pure from sexuality,(6) has abstained *from taking life, from theft, from evil conduct in lusts, from lying, and from all kinds of wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.* "

star in Matthew II. This moving star is more comparable to the heavenly torch that went before Timoleon (Plutarch, Tim. 8 and Diod. Sic. xvi. 66) than to the star Pushya that presides over Buddha's birth in the Mahāvastu and the Lalita Vistara.

The Book of the Great Decease, III. 15, has: "then *this* earth rocks and *quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles.*" This betrays a later origin for our present Sutta and its fellow (Dīgha 14) where the earthquake is extended to the whole universe.

(6) Cf. Diogenes Laërtius on the birth of Plato: "Then he kept her pure of marriage until the birth." (Lives of the Philosophers, Book 3.) This abstinence, ascribed to the mother of Plato, we know from the context to imply a divine paternity, such as that which is the subject of the *Ion* of Euripides. The

7. “‘Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother’s womb, there arises not in his mother any lustful intent

abstinence of Gotamo’s mother, on the other hand, implies no such thing, but merely refers to the period of gestation. Such abstinence is enjoined in the Institutes of Vishnu, LXIX. 17, and was also observed by the Essenes. (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 13). It is a familiar practise of Oriental hygiene. Moreover, Gotamo is credited with parents (Milindo IV. 4. 11, quoted from some Sutta not known to Rhys Davids in 1890.) Nevertheless, in the Lalita Vistara the doctrine of a supernatural birth is certainly implied: the queen-mother abstains for thirty-two months before the Nativity. (Foucaux’s translation from the Sanskrit: Paris, 1884, pp. 29, 44). Here also we find the myth about birth from the right side, quoted by Jerome. The Lalita Vistara’s date is unknown, but the cycle of legends therein was known in China in the first century, from a Buddhist source. (S. B. E. XIX., p. xvii). At the same time it appears that the Buddhists themselves have not understood a virginal birth to be implied; for, in a Tibetan passage pointed out by Foucaux and quoted by Aiken, the king and queen live together in the usual way. It may also be added that such is the case in the Chinese Fo-sho-hing-tsan-King. (S. B. E. XIX. p. 8) pointed out by Bixby.

The words in italics constitute the first five prohibitions in the Buddhist Ten Commandments. It will thus be seen that the Buddhists believe in something analogous to the Immaculate Conception, but not in the Virginal Birth—two doctrines that are often confused. On abstinence from wine, compare John the Baptist: Luke I. 15.

On the other hand, the Buddhist Docetists (*Lokottaravādino*) maintained that Gotamo’s son Rāhulo was miraculously born, having descended from heaven into his mother’s womb, without human paternity. (Mahāvastu, Vol. I., pp. 153, 154: Paris, 1882.)

toward men, and she is inviolable by the impure thought of any man.'(7)

8. " 'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she is possess of the five pleasures of the senses; she is surrounded by, established in, and endowed with the five pleasures of the senses.'

9. " 'Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother's womb, she has no sickness at all, but is happy, with her body free from pain, and sees the future Buddha transparently in the womb (literally, gone across the womb) in full possession of all his limbs and faculties. Even as a cat's-eye gem, Ānando, being radiant, fine, octagonal and well wrought, is therefore strung upon a dark-blue string, or upon a tawny, or a red, or a white, or a yellow string, so that any man with eyes, upon taking it in his hand, may reflect: "This cat's-eye gem, being radiant, &c.....is therefore strung upon this dark-blue string, or.....yellow string,"even so, Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his

(7) Rhys Davids, in *The International Quarterly* (Burlington, Vermont, 1903) has suggested that this statement may have been the germ of the later myth of a Virginal Birth.

Statement No. 5 is not found in the Chinese. We find there more repetitions than in the Pāli and the things ascribed not to the mother but to the baby in womb and coming out of it. In the womb the baby Buddha lies on the right side.
(A. M.)

mother's womb, she has no sickness at all, but is happy, with her body free from pain, and sees him transparently in the womb, in full possession of all his limbs and faculties.'(8)

10. " 'Ānando, *seven days after the birth of the future Buddha, his mother departs this life, and is born with the Tusitā body.*'(9)

11. " 'Moreover, Ānando, while other women bring forth after a gestation of nine or ten months, the future Buddha's mother does not act in the usual way with him: just *ten months* does she carry the future Buddha before she brings him forth.'(10)

12. " 'Moreover, Anando, while other women bring forth sitting or lying down, the future Buddha's mother does not bring him forth in the usual way: she actually brings him forth standing.'

13. " 'Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, princes are the first to receive him, and common folk afterwards.'
(11)

(8) The detail about painless child-birth is in the apocryphal gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, Chapter 13; so also is the one below, No. 15. *Nulla sanguinis effusio in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente*, are the words. Standing on his feet (No. 17) is there too.

(9) These words occur, but in the plural, in Udāna V. 2.

(10) Suetonius on Augustus, 94; Virgil, Eclog 4.

(11) The words rendered "princes" and "common folk" are literally *angels* and *human beings*. It is thus easy to see how these Oriental tropes can give rise to mythology.

14. “ ‘Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother’s womb, he does not touch the earth : four sons of the princes [or, angels] receive him and present him to his mother. “May Your Majesty be blessed,” they say : “unto you is born an eminent son.” ’(12)

15. “ ‘Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother’s womb, he leaves it quite clean, undefiled with matter(13) or blood, but pure, clean, and undefiled by any impurity. As in the case, Ānando, of a gem or a jewel laid in Benāres cloth, the gem or jewel does not defile the Benāres cloth at all, nor the Benāres cloth the jewel or the gem, (and why?—because they both are pure): even so, Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother’s womb, &c.....undefiled by any impurity.’(14)

16. “ ‘Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother’s womb, there appear two showers of water from the sky,—one of cool water and the other of warm, to supply the

(12) Cf. Luke I. 28. “May Your Majesty be blessed” is literally: “Goddess, be thou blessed.” The word *god* or *angel* was always used in addressing kings and queens. “Yes, God,” in the Jātaka Book, means “Yes, Your Majesty.”

Cf. also the birth of Zoroaster: “Unto him is born at his house a brilliant man-(child).” (S. B. E. XLVII, p. 31.)

(13) There is a third word here, *uddena*, which I cannot translate. *Uddo* means generally an aquatic animal.

(14) Statements Nos. 10-15 are not found in the Chinese. (A. M.)

needed water for the future Buddha and his mother.'(15)

17. "‘Ānando, the new-born future Buddha stands sheer upright on his feet, walks northwards with a seven-paced stride, with a white canopy(16) held over him, and looking forth in all directions, utters the taurine speech: "I am the chief in the world, I am the best in the world, I am the eldest in the world. *This is my last existence: I shall now be born no more.*"'(17)

18. "‘Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, then in the world of the angels, together with those of Māro and Brahmā, and unto the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples, there appears a splendor limitless and eminent, transcending the angelic might of the angels; and even in the boundless realms of space, with

(15) These statements occur in the Chinese after the passage corresponding to No. 17. The first part states the pond in which the mother purifies herself. The second agrees exactly with No. 16. (A. M.)

(16) "Canopy" seems to me a more dignified translation than "parasol" or "umbrella": it is an emblem of royalty. The Jātaka commentary says that the god Brahmā held it! The words italicized occur in Gotamo's First Sermon. (S. B. E. XI., p. 153; XIII., p. 97.)

(17) Here the words of the utterance are wanting. After this passage there are enumerated various flowers showering down from heaven to the ground where the baby Buddha was born. Cf. Parallel 3, Note 4. (A. M.)

their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt not in the sky, there too appears the splendor limitless and eminent, transcending the very might of the angels, so that beings who are born there consider among themselves by reason of that splendor: "Friend, it is said that other beings are born here, and this myriad-fold universe quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles: a splendor limitless and eminent appears in the world, transcending even the angelic might of the angels." '(18)

19. "Therefore, Ānando, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Tathāgato: namely, that his sensations are known (or, perceived) when they arise, known when they continue, and known when they decline. Known are his ideas when they arise; his reflections are known when they arise, and known when they decline. Therefore, Ānando, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Tathāgato."

"This fact also, Lord, that the sensations of the Lord are known when they arise, known

(18) End of agreement with the Dīgha Sutta. In saying that these documents are later than the Decease Book, I do not mean to impugn their high antiquity. They are probably the work of the second generation of disciples, i.e. counting from the death of Gotamo.

when they continue, and known when they decline; that his ideas are known.....that his reflections are known.....this also, Lord, I hold to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Lord.'(19)

Thus spake St. Ānando. The Master assented, and the monks were rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of St. Ānando.(20)

(19) It may seem inconsistent to omit quotation-marks from the Christian texts and insert them in the Buddhist. But our practise is accurate: the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament have nothing corresponding to such marks, whereas in the Pāli language there is a regular particle of quotation: *ti*, a contraction of *iti*(=Latin *ita*): "thus".

While speaking of quotation-marks, I should like to modify the statement on p. 45, above. *Short* quotations are put in quotation-marks without change of type, together with a few long ones of prime importance; longer ones are otherwise "set solid", unless they be Canonical Sacred Texts, in which case they are in **heavy-faced type**. The Scriptures of all religions are treated alike.

Quotation-marks are clumsy things, and a change of type is the best method of showing a citation. But it is bad usage to make the change by printing in smaller type. Apart from the manifest egotism of giving the greater honor to one's own speeches and the lesser to one's neighbor's, it is ruinous to the eye. Quoted texts are often more important than the author's remarks, and need re-reading and study. Thus, to ponder over the small print of the interesting passages from Yuan Chwān re-translated by Watters, while the latter's commentary is in normal type, is very vexatious.

(20) The Buddhist title *āyasmā* prefixt to the names of Apostles is the equivalent of the Christian *Saint*.

[Here ends] the Dialog on Wonders and Marvels, third [in a particular subdivision of the Middling Collection.] (21)

3. ANGELIC HERALDS AND THE PROPHECY OF AN AGED SAINT.

Luke II. 8—40.

And there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, and keeping watch by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them: Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people: for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord.

And this is the sign unto you: Ye shall find a babe wrapt in swaddling clothes, and

(21) In the Chinese the last part of this sutta is wanting and instead of it other marvels in Buddha's life, as for instance, the shade of a tree not removing from Buddha's seat, are stated. (A. M.)

lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying:

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased.

And it came to pass, when the angels went away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing that is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found both Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in the manger. And when they saw it, they made known concerning the saying which was spoken to them about this child. And all that heard it wondered at the things which were spoken unto them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was spoken unto them.

And when eight days were fulfilled for circumcising him, his name was called Jesus, which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present

him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord,) and to offer a sacrifice, according to that which is said in the law of the Lord : A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.

And behold there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came in the Spirit into the Temple : and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might do concerning him after the custom of the law, then he received him into his arms, and blest God, and said :

Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord,

According to thy word, in peace ;

For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples ;

A light for revelation to the Gentiles,

And the glory of thy people Israel.

And his father and his mother were marveling at the things which were spoken concerning him ; and Simeon blest them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this [child]

is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel; and for a sign which is spoken against; yea and a sword shall pierce thru thine own soul; that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (she was of a great age, having lived with a husband seven years from her virginity, and she had been a widow even for four-score and four years), which departed not from the temple, worshiping with fastings and supplications night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem. And when they had accomplisht all things that were according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

And the child grew, and waxt strong, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him.

Collection of Discourses (Sutta Nipāto)

Stanzas 679-700.

First translated by Vincent Fausböll of Copenhagen, the Nestor of Pāli scholars, in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X, Part 2, p. 124 seq.

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

- S. P. 1. N. C. No. 666, fifth century translation.
2. N. C. No. 664, translated A. D. 197.
3. N. C. No. 859 (1)

Rejoicing, delighted, the hosts of the Thirty,
Sakko the leader and angels white-stoled,
Seizing their robes and chanting high praises,
Did Asito the hermit see in noonday rest.

Seeing the angels with minds gladdened,
ecstatic,
He made obeisance and forthwith spake thus:
“Why is the assembly of the angels exceedingly pleased?
Wherefore do ye seize your robes and wave them?

“When there was a battle with the devils,
A victory for the angels and the devils defeated,
Then there was not such astonishment:
What portent is it the deities have seen that they rejoice?

“They shout and sing and make music,
They whirl their arms and dance:
I ask you, O dwellers upon Meru’s height,
Remove my doubt quickly, O venerable ones!”

[The angels answer:]

(1) These three texts which seem to have supplied materials for the composition of the Lalita Vistara or must have descended from the same source as the latter have their respective corresponding passages to these stanzas of the Sutta Nipāto. No. 1

“The Buddha-to-be, the best and matchless
jewel,

Is born for weal and welfare in the world of
men,

In the town of the Sākyas, in the region of
Lumbinī :

Therefore are we joyful and exceeding glad.

“He, the highest of all beings, the head-person,
The chief(2) of men, the highest of all creatures,
Will set rolling the wheel [of religion] in the
hermit-named forest,

gives the conversation between Asito and the angels in prose as narrated by Asito himself to the King Çuddhodana. This corresponds to stanzas 679-684.

The following part is much abridged in No. 1.

In No. 2, there is no conversation between Asito and the angels nor narration about it. He sees many wonders and comes down from his mountain abode to Kapilavastu. The following part, stanzas 685-694, is given partly in prose and partly in verse. This text mentions not Asito's nephew.

The name of the nephew (or disciple) is given in No. 3, as Nārada (or Nārana?, Naradatta in Lalita Vistara.) Stanzas 695-700 do not agree literally with the passage in No. 3, but in substance. The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya (N. C. 1121) gives, in its vol. 20, the same story in prose and verse. The verses are similar to those in the Sutta Nipāto, but not so much as to identify them. (A. M.)

Nos. 1 and 2 are clast among the Āgamas, in Nanjio's Catalog. A. J. E.

(2) Literally, bull.

Like the roaring mighty lion mastering the
deer.”(3) (4)

Hearing that sound, he came down from the
Heaven of Content,

And entered Suddhodano’s abode :

There seated he addrest the Sayas thus :

“Where is the prince?(5) I desire to see him.”

There was the prince like glowing gold,
Very skillfully wrought in the forge’s mouth,
Blazing in glory and the lofty air of beauty :
Unto him named Asito the Sākyas showed
their son.

Seeing the prince aglow like flame,
Pure as the chief(6) of stars wandering in the
sky,
Like the burning sun in autumn free from
clouds,
He joyfully obtained great delight.

(3) Gotamo’s first Sermon was in the Deer Park near Benāres.

(4) In the fifth-century Chinese, the passage corresponding to this stanza agrees perfectly with statement 17 of the Parallel No. 2 above, p. 178. (A. M.)

(5) This word may also be rendered “boy.”

(6) Literally *Bull*.

The angels held in air a canopy,
Many-branched and thousand-ringed :
Chowries with golden staves were fanned ;
Unseen were they who carried the chowries
and the canopy.

The hermit with matted hair, called Kanhasiri,
When he saw the yellow trappings bright as a
golden piece,
And the white canopy held over the head,
Received him delighted and happy.

But when he had received the chief(6) of the
Sākyas,—

He who was wishing for him, and knew the
signs and the Hymns,—

With placid thoughts gave utterance to the
speech :

“This is the unrivalled One, the highest among
bipeds.” (7)

Then, remembering his own migration,

He was saddened and shed tears.

Seeing this, the Sākyas asked the weeping
hermit

Whether there were danger for the Prince.

Seeing the Sākyas sad, the hermit spake :

“I remember naught unhappy for the Prince :

(7) I prefer to be literal here, at the expense of a Western smile, because the association of men with animals is thoroughly Buddhistic.

There will be no danger at all for him ;
He is no ordinary being. Be not dismayed.

“The Prince will reach the summit of perfect
enlightenment:

Seeing supernal purity, he will set rolling the
wheel of the Doctrine,

Out of pity, for the weal of the multitude,
And his religion will be prosperous.

“My life below will not be long,

And in the midst of it all my appointed time
will come :

I shall not hear the Doctrine of the peerless
leader;

Therefore am I afflicted, unfortunate, and suf-
fering.”

Having given much gladness to the Sākyas,
From the midst of the town he went forth to
lead the life of religion.

Taking pity on his nephew,

He caused him to accept the Doctrine of the
peerless leader.

“When thou hearest from others a rumor, say-
ing ‘Buddha,’—

One who hath reacht perfect enlightenment
and walketh the way of the Doctrine,—

Go thither thyself, and inquire thereon,

And lead the life of religion with that Blessed
One.”

Instructed by him, the friendly-minded,
By him who had seen in the future the super-
lative purity,
That same Nālako, with an accumulation of
merit,
Dwelt in watchfulness over his faculties, look-
ing forward to the Victor.

Hearing a voice while the Victor set rolling
the excellent wheel,
He went and saw the chiefest(8) of hermits ;
The excellent sage he askt about the best
sagacity,
When the time was come whereof he had been
instructed by him called Asito.

END OF THE THEME-VERSES(9)

This speech is acknowledged
To be Asito's exactly :
Therefore I inquire of thee, O Gotamo,
Who art perfect in all doctrine.

Unto me who go houseless,
Wishing for the mendicant life,
Explain to me when askt, O sage !
Sagacity, the highest path.

(8) Literally, bull.

(9) The King of Siam has "theme-narrative."

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

Kellogg, in his *Light of Asia and Light of the World* (London, 1885) disparages the parallel between Asito and Simeon (Luke II.) destroying it detail by detail. But he overlooks the connection of Asito with the account of the Angelic Heralds. It is this organic connection which establishes the parallel between the Nālaka Sutta and the Second of Luke. Moreover, the first and fifth verses of the Sutta must be read together with Luke II. 11 and 14. (See pp. 87, 88, above, and the whole of Section 3 of the Historical Introduction.)

Part II.

INITIATION AND COMMENCEMENT.

4. FASTING, AND ANGELIC MINISTRATION.

Matthew IV. 2 and 11.

And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he afterward hungered..... Then the devil leaveth him; and behold, angels came and ministered unto him.

Luke IV. 2.

And he did eat nothing in those days.

Mark I. 13.

And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.

4. FASTING, AND ANGELIC MINISTRATION

Middling Collection No. 36. (S. P., N. C. 859.)

Translated into German, by Neumann, Die Reden, Vol. I.
pp. 389 f.

Then, O Aggivessano, the angels (*devatā*) saw me and said: "The philosopher Gotamo is dead." Other angels said: "He is not dead, but he is dying." Others again said: "He is neither dead nor dying, but an Arahāt is the philosopher Gotamo: such a mode of life is only that of an Arahāt." Then, Aggivessano, I thought: "What if I now fast entirely?" Forthwith there came unto me angels who said: "O worthy One, do not so, fast not entirely. But if thou do, we will instil angelic sap⁽¹⁾ thru thy pores: so shalt thou remain alive." Then, Aggivessano, I thought: "If now I were to fast entirely, these angels would instil angelic sap thru my pores, and I should thus remain alive, which on my part would be false." And then, Aggivessano, I cried back to the angels and said: "It is enough." ⁽²⁾

Dr. Aiken was unfortunate in not using the Majjhima-Nikāyo when discussing the subject of the fast. (*Dhamma of Gotama*, p. 204.) He charges

(1) Neumann has "dew" (Thau).

(2) So far as I know there is in the Chinese no text corresponding to the Middling No. 36. Here I take a passage similar to that. The Devatā (or Devaputra) says: "There is fine heavenly food and drink here in my pores." (A. M.)

Seydel with doing violence to the legend by making the fast precede the Enlightenment, and he appeals to the Mahāvaggo in support of his charge. It is true, the Mahāvaggo relates that Gotamo sat in meditation under different trees for twenty-eight days after the Enlightenment, (presumably without eating), but the fast in question is the one related by Gotamo himself in our present text, and it *preceded* the Enlightenment.

5. ILLUMINATION.

Mark I. 9-11.

Translated from the text of Westcott and Hort.

And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth to Galilee, and was baptized of John in the Jordan. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens rent asunder, and the spirit as a dove descending INTO him: and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 150, reads: "Thou art my beloved Son: THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE." (*Trypho*, 88.)

Luke III. 22.

Translated from the Cambridge Codex, (1) sixth century.

And the Holy Ghost descended INTO him in a bodily form, as a dove; and there was a voice out of the heaven: Thou art my son: THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE.

The writer to the Hebrews, when using the same words (Heb. I. 5) is quoting the Second Psalm, but there is just a possibility that he also had in mind the original Gospel reading of the words uttered at the Baptism. They agree in idea with the other reading given above: that, at the Illumination (as baptism was called among the early Christians) the Spirit "entered *into*" Jesus, i.e. his spiritual birth then took place. But when the doctrine of the virginal conception supplanted this earlier and simpler one, the word *ἐπὶ*, *upon*, was substituted for *εἰς*, *into*; and it became heresy to maintain that the Holy Ghost entered the Lord at Baptism instead of at conception. Westcott and Hort, and indeed all scientific editors of the Greek text, read *εἰς*, in Mark I. 10, and I cannot understand why *The Twentieth Century New Testament*, which is generally so faithful to Hort's text, has here perpetuated the King James translation of "upon." It was doubtless such readings as this in

(1) Cambridge fac-simile, 1899, which, with a munificence worthy of a great world-center, the city of Philadelphia has placed freely at the service of scholars.

the original Mark that made this Gospel the favorite one with the Unitarian party among the early Christians, as related by Irenæus. (Hær. III. 11.)

Middling Collection, Dialog 36. (S. P. N. C. 859.)

After relating how he took food at the end of his fast, entered into the Four Trances (*Jhānas*) and gained the Three Knowledges, viz., insight into his former existences, intromission into the spiritual world, and arrival at the Four Truths about Suffering, Gotamo says :

This knowledge as the third, O Aggivesano, I reacht in the last watch of the night : ignorance was dissipated, knowledge arisen ; darkness dissipated, insight arisen, even as it is for one who dwells earnest, ardent and strenuous.

This is the regular account of the Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*), which recurs in several Dialogs of the Middling Collection, and also at the opening of the Book of Discipline, not yet translated.

Middling Collection, Dialog 26. (C. T. 204.)

Translated into English by Warren, p. 338 ; and into German by Neumann, Vol. I. p. 266.

Now, monks, did I wander seeking what was good, searching for the incomparable, supernal path of rest, wandering from place to

place in the land of Magadhā, and I proceeded to the fortified town of Uruvelā. There did I see a delightful spot of earth: a pleasant wooded landscape, a clear flowing river, fit to bathe in, delightful, with pasturage around (or, a resort for alms near by.) Then, monks, did I think: "Delightful indeed is this spot of earth; pleasant the wooded landscape; the river flows clear, fit for bathing, delightful, with pasturage around. It is sufficient for the strenuous life unto a noble youth desirous thereof." And I sat down there, saying: "This is sufficient for the strenuous life."

Then, monks, did I, who by myself was subject unto birth, marking the misery thereof, search for and find the birthless incomparable yoga-calm of Nirvāṇa; marking the misery of decay, disease, death, sorrow and corruption, whereto I was subject, I sought and found the incomparable yoga-calm of Nirvāṇa, without decay, without disease, deathless, painless, unsullied. Then within me did arise the knowledge and insight:

"Immovable is my emancipation. This is my last existence; I shall now be born no more!"

And I thought, O monks: "I have attained unto this doctrine, which is profound, hard to perceive and understand, quiet, refined, beyond the sphere of reason, recondite, felt only by the wise."

Then follows Gotamo's hesitation about preaching his religion to the sensual world, and the descent from heaven of the Supreme Brahmā to beseech him to preach it. (See Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, pp. 84-86). Like others of our Parallels, the present one is psychologic, not literary: the same mental crisis in the lives of the Masters is meant, and is met by each according to the needs and motions of his country's mind.

6. TEMPTATIONS OF EMPIRE AND POWER TO TRANSMUTE MATTER.

Luke IV. 3-8.

And the devil said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, command this stone that it become bread. And Jesus answered unto him, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone. And he led him up and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, To thee will I give all this authority and the glory of them: for it hath been delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou there-

fore wilt worship before me, it shall all be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.

Luke again agrees with the Pāli by associating these two temptations, whereas Matthew dissociates them.

Book of Temptations. *Chapter on Dominion.*

(C. T., in *Samyuktāgama.*)

Translated in substance by Oldenberg, in his *Buddha*: English edition, 1882, p. 312. Windisch translates fully, together with the whole of the Book of Temptations, in his *Māra und Buddha*: Leipzig, 1895.

At one season the Lord was staying in the land of the Kosalā, among the Himālayas, in a log-hut. While thus living in hermitage retired, the reflection arose within him: "It is really possible to exercise dominion by righteousness, without slaying or causing slaughter; without oppression or the making thereof; without sorrow or the infliction thereof."

Then Māro, the Evil One, perceived in his heart the thought which had arisen in the heart of the Lord and he approacht the Lord and spake thus: "Lord, may the Lord exercise dominion; may the Auspicious One exercise dominion by righteousness without slaying or causing slaughter; without oppression or the making thereof; without sorrow or the infliction thereof."

“What seest thou in me, O Evil One, that thou speakest thus to me?”

“Lord, the Lord hath practised the four principles of psychical power, hath developed them, made them active and practical, pursued them, accumulated, and striven to the height thereof. So, Lord, if the Lord desired, he could turn the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains, into very gold, and gold would the mountain be.”

[Buddha replies:]

“The whole of a mountain of gold, of fine gold,

Twofold, were not enough for one:

Let him who knoweth this govern his life.

He who hath seen Pain and whence its rise,

How could such an one bow to lusts?

He who knoweth that the substratum of existence is what is called in the world ‘attachment’,

Let that man train himself in the subdual thereof.”

Then Māro, the Evil One, said: “The Lord knows me; the Auspicious One knows me.” And he vanished thence, unhappy and disconsolate.

7. FOUNDING A SPIRITUAL EMPIRE AND PREACHING A GOSPEL.

Mark I. 14, 15. Now after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe in the gospel.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 6.

Translated by Davids and Oldenberg in S. B. E. XIII, p. 91.

(C. T., Dharmagupta Vinaya, Nanjio 1117.)

To found a spiritual empire I go unto
Benāres:

I will beat the drum of the Immortal in
the darkness of the world.

“To found spiritual empire” is literally, *to set rolling a spiritual wheel*, but the word “wheel” means also, by metaphor, dominion. Buddha’s First Sermon is always called “Spiritual Wheel-turning Discourse”, i. e. The Founding of the Spiritual Empire. In Chinese versions, says Anesaki, *dharmacakka* is always rendered by “wheel of the Law.”

Hymns of the Faith, 194.

Blessed is the arising of the Buddhas,
Blessed the preaching of the Gospel.

Saddhammo (Sanskrit, *Saddharma*) good doctrine, or good law, is a common epithet of the Buddhist religion and a perfect equivalent of the Christian word *Gospel*. There are many discourses in the Numerical Collection about the causes of the Gospel's decline. In the Chinese version, says Anesaki, we read "the Way of the Sūtras", instead of "Gospel."

8. MESSIANIC PROPHECY: ART THOU THE COMING ONE ?

Luke VII. 16-19.

(Here again Luke is closer to the Pāli than the parallel in Matthew XI.)

And fear took hold on all : and they glorified God, saying, A great prophet is arisen among us : and, God hath visited his people. And this report went forth concerning him in the whole of Judea, and all the region round about.

And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And John calling unto him two

of his disciples sent them to the Lord, saying, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?

Long Collection, Dialog No. 3 (C. T. 20).

Translated by Rhys Davids: Dialogs, p. 109.

Now, at that season a young Brahmin of the Ambattho [clan] was a pupil under the Brahmin Pokkharasādi, and he was a reciter, knowing by heart the Vedic Hymns,⁽¹⁾ master of the three Vedas, &c.....

And Pokkharasādi the Brahmin addrest the young brahmin Ambattho, saying: "Dear Ambattho, this philosopher Gotamo, the Sākya man, who has gone forth as a hermit from a Sākya family, is wandering about in the land of the Kosalā with a great congregation of monks, with some five hundred monks, and has arrived at Icchānaṅkala, where he is staying in the grove of that name. Now, regarding that Gotamo, the following glorious report has gone abroad: That Lord is a Holy One, a supremely Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom in conduct; auspicious, knowing the universe; an incomparable charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, a Blessed Buddha. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and

(1) *Mantadharo*, literally, "carrying the Mantras."

its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples. He preaches his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the goal, in the spirit and the letter. He proclaims a religious life wholly perfect and thoroly pure; and good is it to pay visits to such holy ones. Come, now, dear Ambattho, go to the philosopher Gotamo, and find out whether the report gone abroad regarding him be true or not: whether Gotamo be such as they say or not. In this way we shall get to know about him.”

“But Sir, how shall I know whether Gotamo be so or not?”

“Ambattho, there have come down in our Vedic Hymns thirty-two marks of a Great Soul,(2) and to any great soul possess thereof only two destinies are possible: If he adopt the domestic life, he will become a king, a righteous world-ruler, a king of righteousness; victorious to the shores of the four seas, arrived at the security of his country, and possess of the seven treasures, which are these: the Wheel (or, Empire), the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the Treasurer, and, for the seventh, the Counsellor. He will have more than a thousand sons, heroes, of mighty frame, crushers of alien armies. He will dwell in this ocean-girt earth overcoming it, staffless

(2) Or, Ideal Manhood. Compare “the Son of Humanity” of Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels.

8. MESSIANIC PROPHECY

and swordless, by righteousness.(3) But if, on the other hand, he go forth from the domestic life into the homeless one, he will become a Holy One, a fully Enlightened One, who lifts the veil from the world.”(4)

We here see that the Hindū Messianic prophecy, like the Hebrew, left it uncertain whether the Coming One was to be a temporal or a spiritual potentate. We may also observe that, just as in the New Testament,(5) we find oracles quoted as if from sacred writ which are not found therein, so, too, in the Buddhist Scriptures, there are oracles, like our present one, not found in the canon of the Vedas.

(3) Cf. Isaiah XI. 4.

(4) Cf. Mark IV. 22.

(5) For instance, Mark IX. 13, an uncanonical prophecy about Elijah, which Rendel Harris has found in a collection of Jewish lore, ascribed to Philo, published at Basle in 1527.

9. LOOKING FOR MESSIAH.

Luke X. 23-24.

And turning to the disciples, he said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

Matth. XIII. 16-17.

But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

Cf. also Luke II. 25 and 38.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 22.

(C. T., Nanjio, No. 1117.)

Translated in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 140.

Now Seniyo Bimbisāro, the king of Magadhā, having seen and graspt and known and penetrated the truth, having past beyond all doubt and cavil, having gained full confidence, dependent upon no one for the Master's holy lore, spake thus unto the Lord :

"Lord, in the days when I was a prince, I

had five wishes, and they are now fulfilled. I wisht that I might be inaugurated as king (literally, *sprinkled for the sovereignty*). This, Lord, was my first wish, and now it is fulfilled. And then might the Holy Supreme Buddha descend into my kingdom. This, Lord, was my second wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might I reverently approach the presence of that Lord. This, Lord, was my third wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might that Lord preach his religion unto me. This was my fourth wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might I understand the religion of the Lord. This was my fifth wish, and now it is fulfilled.”(6)

Middling Collection, Dialog 130. (C. T. 64.)

Translated from the parallel passage in the Numerical Collection
by Warren, p. 258.

In a former existence, O monks, King Yamo thought to himself: “All those, alas! who do wicked deeds in the world must suffer such manifold retribution! Oh, that I may become a man, and a Tathāgato arise in the world, a Holy Supreme Buddha; and that I

(6) The Mahīṣāsaka Vinaya omits this story. Our text quoted here from the Dharmagupta Vinaya counts six wishes, the fourth of which expresses the wish to become delighted with the interview with the Buddha. (A. M.)

may sit at the feet of the Lord, and the Lord may preach his religion unto me, and I understand the religion of the Lord !”

Now this, O monks, that I speak, I heard not from any one else, whether philosopher or brahmin ; but, monks, what I myself have known and seen and understood, that alone I speak.

Thus spake the Lord.

Part III.

MINISTRY AND ETHICS.

10. THE LOGIA.

JESUS SAITH is the formula in the Egyptian Logia-fragment found in 1897, and is of frequent occurrence in the Gospels. The ancient Christian Logia-Book, or primitive Gospel of Matthew mentioned by Papias (Eusebius, H. E. iii. 39) is lost; but the Buddhists are more fortunate in having their Logia-Book extant. It is called the Itivuttaka, that is, the *Thus-Said*. (Chinese version, N. C. No. 714). (1) Its antiquity is attested not only by

(1) The Chinese Itivuttika (Sæc. VII.) contains the following sections and sūtras :

1. Ekanipāto	{ I. 34 II. 26 }	60.	
2. Dvinipāto	{ I. 18 II. 17 III. 14 }	49.	
3. Trinipāto	{ I. 13 II. 15 }	28.	Total 137 sūtras:

Among these we find the following suttas of the Pāli wanting in the Chinese :—

22 (Ek. III. 2),	43 (Duk. II. 6.),	
50-58 (Tik. I. 1-9),	61 (Tik. II. 2.),	
63-73 (Tik. II. 4-III. 4),	75 (Tik. III. 6.),	
77-78 (Tik. III. 8-9),	81 (Tik. IV. 2.),	
87-88 (Tik. IV. 8-9),	92-94 (Tik. V. 3-5),	
96 (Tik. V. 7),	99 (Tik. V. 10).	Total 34.

the internal evidence of terseness and simplicity, but by the external evidence that the name itself is one of the ancient Nine Divisions of the Scriptures which antedate the present arrangement of the Pāli Canon. The formulæ of the Itivuttaka are the following:—

1. *This was said by the Lord, said by the Holy One, and heard by me.*

2. *This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus [in verse.]*

3. *Exactly this is the meaning spoken by the Lord, and thus it was heard by me.*

These three formulæ accompany each of the first 79 paragraphs (*suttas*) of the Itivuttaka; No. 80 has the first two formulæ only; Nos. 81-88 have none of them; Nos. 89 and 90 have all; Nos. 91-98

The Catukkanipāto as a whole is wanting in the Chinese. Nevertheless some of its suttas are found in the Chinese, incorporated in other Nipātos. They are:

Pāli 106 (Cat. 7), in Chinese Dvin. II. 17.

“ 107 (Cat. 8), in “ “ II. 8.

Other sections, both Pāli and Chinese, occur in other parts of the Canon, tho wanting in the Itivuttaka:—

Pāli 64-65 (Tik. II. 5-6)=Chinese Ekottara, Chapter 21, sūtra 8.

Chinese Ek. II. 24-25=Numerical Collection I. 17.

“ Dvi. II. 5=Ariyapariyesana (part, M. Vol. I. pp. 162-163).

“ Tik. I. 5=Numerical Collection III. 81.

“ “ “ 6= “ “ “ 88-89.

“ “ “ 13= “ “ “ 84. (A.M.)

have none; Nos. 99-100 have all; Nos. 101-111 have none; the closing sutta, No. 112, has all three. Five of the suttas that want the formulæ (Nos. 101, 105, 108, 110, 111) are found in the Numerical Collection, as well as two where they have been supplied (Nos. 90 and 112). It is therefore probable that the original Itivuttaka has been added to, and this is borne out by the fact that the suttas increase in length towards the end. Moreover, the suttas borrowed from the Numerical Collection all occur *after* No. 80, where the formulæ cease to be regular.(2)

The earlier part of the Ituvittaka appears to be of great antiquity. Its themes are found all thru the Canon in a more developt form, but they are here exprest with a terse simplicity and with the solemn deposition in each case that Buddha spoke them.

(2) If it be said that the Anguttara borrowed certain suttas because they were numerical, the fact confronts us that Nos. 108 and 110 to 112 are not numerical; while Nos. 1-6, which are not borrowed at all, one would expect to find in the Eka-Nipāto.

II. ESOTERIC AND EXOTERIC.

Mark IV. 10, 11; 33, 34. And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve askt of him the parables. And he said unto them, Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables. * * * And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it: and without a parable spake he not unto them: but privately to his own disciples he expounded all things.

Middling Collection, Dialog 143. (C. T. No. 28). No such religious discourse, O householder, is revealed unto white-stoled householders: it is revealed unto hermits (*pabbajitā*.)

This is spoken by Sāriputto, who has equal authority with Buddha. The latter, however, in the Decease Book, repudiates any distinction between esoteric and exoteric.



12. THE GOLDEN RULE.

Luke VI. 31. As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.

Luke is closer to the Pāli than Matthew, who adds the phrase about the Law and the Prophets.

Romans XII. 15, 16.

Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another.

Hymns of the Faith, 129 and 130. (C. T., Nanjio 1365.)

Translated by Max Müller: S. B. E., Vol. X, Part 1, p. 36.

All men tremble at the rod, all men fear death:
Putting oneself(3) in the place of others, kill
not nor cause to kill.

All men tremble at the rod, unto all men life is
dear :

Doing as one would be done by, kill not nor
cause to kill.

(3) "Putting oneself in the place of others," and "doing as one would be done by," are variant translations of *attānam upamam katvā*, i.e. "having made oneself a likeness." Fernand Hū, in his French translation, renders the phrase each time: *Qu' on fasse ce qu' on voudrait que fit autrui.*

Collection of Discourses, Stanzas 148-150.

(S. P. in Chinese Dhammapada). (4)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. X. part 2, p. 25.

It is also in the Short Recital, a manual for novices.

As a mother her own son,
Her only son, at risk of life would guard,
Even so toward all beings
Let one practise infinite sympathy(5)
In all the world;
Let him practise a purpose unbounded,
Above, below and across,
Unhindered, without hate or enmity.
Whether standing, walking or sitting,
Or lying down, so long as he keeps off sloth,
Unto this mindfulness let him devote him-
self:
This mode of life divine they call.

(4) Also found in N. C. No. 1353. These lines of the Chinese Dharmapada occur in the first part of it which is wanting in the Pāli. The Chapter (No. 7 and called "the Love") in which these verses occur may be another version of Metta-sutta of Khandha-paritta. (Frankfurter, p. 90-91.) (A. M.)

(5) Literally, "unbounded friendly mind (or purpose.)"

13. LOVE YOUR ENEMIES.

Luke VI. 27-28.

But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.

Luke again is closer to the Pāli: Matthew adds the clause: that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven, &c.

Hymns of the Faith, 3-5. (C. T., Nanjio 1365.)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. X, Part 1, p. 4.

“He abused me, he beat me,
Overcame me, robbed me.”
In those who harbor such thoughts
Their anger is not calmed.
Not by anger are angers
In this world ever calmed:
By meekness⁽¹⁾ are they calmed.
This is an ancient doctrine.

Hymns of the Faith, 223. (C. T., Nanjio 1365.)

S. B. E. Vol. X, Part 1, p. 58.

See also Jātaka 151, where a story is based upon the precept.

Let one conquer wrath by meekness,⁽¹⁾
Let one conquer wrong by goodness,
Let one conquer the mean man by a gift,
And a liar by the truth.

(1) Literally, “non-anger.” But this is merely an etymological negative, like “immortality.”

Middling Collection, Dialog 21. (C. T., No. 193.)

Phagguno, if any one in the presence of the nuns⁽²⁾ were to give thee a blow with hand, clod, staff or sword, thou shouldst renounce all common feelings and reflections, and train thyself in the thought: "My heart shall not be altered; I will not let an evil speech escape, but continue kind and compassionate, with a loving heart instead of a hateful one."

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Monks, if robbers or murderers should cut you asunder, limb from limb, with a two-handled saw, then whosoever should fall into a rage would not be following my instruction. In such case, O monks, you should train yourselves to think: "Our heart shall not be altered; we will not let an evil speech escape, but continue kind and compassionate, with loving hearts instead of hateful ones; and we will continue to suffuse that individual with thoughts of love; we will continue to suffuse that object and the whole wide world with thoughts of love, widespread, grown great, measureless, without anger or malice."

(2) Phagguno has been threatening vengeance on any one who should insult the young ladies.

This valuable text has been pointed out to me by Ko Mya Tha Htūn of Rangūn.

14. NON-RESISTANCE.

Matthew XXVI. 52. Then saith Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place : for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

John XVIII. 36. Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.

Hymns of the Faith, 184-185. (C. T., the same. Verse 185 is rendered into Chinese in seven padas, but identical in substance.)

Patience and longsuffering
Are the supreme asceticism—
Supreme Nirvana, say the Buddhas :
For he is not an hermit who hurteth another,
Not a philosopher who annoyeth another.

Meekness, non-resistance,
Restraint under the Confessional,
Temperance in eating, secluded residence,
And devotion to high thought :
This is the religion of the Buddhas.

Ditto 399. (C. T. the same ; agreement perfect.)
Whoso, though innocent, endures abuse,
Yea, stripes and bonds,—
Patience his power and power his army,—
Him I call a Brahmin.

Long Collection, Dialogs 1-13. (C. T. Nos. 20-29, identified by Nanjio, tho in a different order from the Pāli.)

Renouncing destruction of life and abstaining therefrom, *the philosopher Gotamo has laid aside the staff and the sword*; is modest, merciful, and dwells in kindness and compassion for all beings that have life.

Hymns of the Faith, 201. (C. T. the same ; agreement perfect.)

Victory breedeth anger,
For in pain the vanquisht lieth ;
Lieth happy the man of peace,
Renouncing victory and defeat.

15. SELF-DENIAL.

Mark VIII. 34, 35. If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it.

Classified Collection XXXVIII. 1; XXXIX, 1.

(XXXVIII. 1=C. T., Nanjio, No. 544: IV. Sāvaka-vaggo, 1: Sāriputta-Samyutta, No. 7. XXXIX. I=ditto, No. 41.)

St. Sariputto was staying at the village of Nālako in Magadhā, and on another occasion among the Vajjians at Ukkavelā, upon the shore of the River Ganges.

Now on the first occasion the hermit Rose-apple-eater, and on the second the hermit Sāmandako, approacht him, and having exchanged the usual greetings sat on one side. And so sitting, the hermit in each case said unto St. Sāriputto: "Brother Sariputto, there is something called Nirvāṇa. What is Nirvāṇa?"

"Brother, destruction of passion, destruction of hatred, destruction of folly: this is called Nirvāṇa."

Middling Collection, Dialog 72.

Translated by Warren, p. 125.

I say that the Tathāgato is emancipated, by reason of the destruction of, detachment from, cessation, resignation, forsaking, and relinquishment of, all imaginings, all agitations and proud inclinations toward everything that maketh I and Me.

16. THE PURE IN HEART SEE GOD.

Matthew V. 8. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

Long Collection, Dialog 19. (C. T. No. 3.)

[A brahmin speaks]. He who goes into solitude for four months in a year, and practises the meditation on Pity, sees God (Brahmā) and converses with him, talks with him, consults with him.

Numerical Collection IV. 190.(1)

[Buddha speaks in the Eastern Park at Sāvatti.]

Monks, how can a monk attain to God?(2)

In this case, O monks, a monk diffuses his mind into the four quarters of the world, one after another, with thoughts of LOVE; and thus the whole wide world—above, below, around and on all sides—he continues to suffuse with loving thought, far-reaching, grown great, immeasurable, without anger or malice. Then he diffuses his mind into the four quarters of the world, in the same way, with thoughts of PITY; then of SYMPATHY; and finally, of EQUANIMITY. In this way, O monks, does a monk attain unto God.

(1) Anesaki notes this as apparently wanting in the Chinese.

(2) *Brahmappatto hoti*. It is generally rendered, “attain to the world of Brahmā,” tho the word *world* is not in the Pāli.

17. TREASURE IN HEAVEN.

Matthew VI. 19, 20.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break thru and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break thru nor steal.

Luke XII. 21 and 33.

So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.....

Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth.

From the Treasure Chapter in the Short Recital.

S. P. in Chinese Dhammapada (N. C. 1365.)

Let the wise man do righteousness :
A treasure that others can share not,
Which no thief can steal;
A treasure which passeth not away.(1)

(1) Cf. the Tibetan Udānavarga V. 23 : Lay up, therefore, good works in view of the other world; for it is good works that receive beings in the other world. Cf. Dhp. 220.

18. RAVENING WITHIN.

Matthew VII. 15.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

Luke XI. 39.

And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness.

In the Matthean parallel to this passage in Luke XI. (viz., Matth. XXIII. 25) we read: Within they are full, i.e. the cup and platter. Luke, as usual, agrees with the Pāli.

Hymns of the Faith, 394. (C. T., in Chinese).

Translated in S. B. E. X, Part 1. p. 90).

What use to thee is matted hair, O fool!
What use the goat-skin garment?
Within thee there is ravening;
The outside thou makest clean.

19. THE MISSIONARY CHARGE.

Mark VI. 7-13.

And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two ; and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits ; and he charged them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only ; no bread, no wallet, no money in their purse ; but to go shod with sandals ; and, said he, put not on two coats. And he said unto them, Wheresoever ye enter into a house, there abide till ye depart thence. And whatsoever place shall not receive you, and they hear you not, as ye go forth thence, shake off the dust that is under your feet for a testimony unto them. And they went out, and preacht that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.

Matthew XXVIII. 19, 20.

Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, [baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost ;] teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you : and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the consummation of the age.

Luke X. 1.

Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy others, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 10, 11.

Translated in S. B. E. XIII. p. 112.

S. P. (N. C. No. 680). (1)

At that time there were sixty-one Arahats in the world.(2)

And the Lord said unto the monks: "I am delivered, O monks, from all fetters, human and divine. Ye, O monks, are also delivered therefrom. Go forth, O monks, on your journey, for the weal and the welfare of much people, out of compassion for the world, and for the wealth and the weal and the welfare of angels and mortals. Go no two of you the same [way](3). Preach, O monks, the Doc-

(1) Two Chinese Vinaya texts (N. C. Nos. 1117 and 1122,) preserve this passage in simpler manner. Here we take the correspondence from the Chinese Mahāvastu (N. C. No. 680) which in this respect agrees best with the Pāli. Further compare my book on Buddhism, pp. 50-51. (A. M.)

(2) Rendel Harris suggests a parallel, if not a connection, with Luke's Seventy who went to the Gentiles, the 70 nations of Hebrew tradition. "As the hammer that strikes emits a multitude of sparks, so is every word emanating from the Holy One—Blessed be He—heralded in seventy different languages." (Babylonian Talmud, Tract Sabbath, chap. 9.)

(3) In *Māra und Buddha*, p. 91, Windisch translates into German: **Let not two go at once.**

trine which is glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the end, in the spirit and the letter. Proclaim a religious life wholly perfect and thoroly pure. There are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by hardly any dust, but unless they hear the Doctrine they will perish. They will understand it."

Paul Carus has pointed out to me the significant fact that the preaching of the Gospel to the nations is a later addition to the New Testament. This is borne out by the archaic oracle in Matthew :

Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.....Ye shall not have gone thru the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come. (The Missionary Charge in Matthew X. 5-6 and 23).

It is Luke alone who invents the mission of the Seventy (i.e. to the seventy nations of the world, according to Jewish geography). As I pointed out in April, 1900, there is a parallel here with the sixty-one Arahats sent forth by Gotamo. That Luke invented the story of the Seventy is betrayed by himself, for, in XXII. 35, he agrees with the Petrine and Matthean tradition, in ascribing the prohibition of shoes to the Charge to the Twelve from which he has wrested them to make up his ideal Charge to the Seventy :

When I sent you forth without purse and

wallet and shoes, lackt ye any thing? And they said, Nothing.

Luke puts the words,—no purse, no wallet, no shoes, into the Charge to the Seventy (X. 4), while in the Charge to the Twelve he reads: nor wallet, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats. But there is no mention of shoes. (Luke ix. 3.)

In the Gospel tradition generally the great Missionary Charge is the one given after the resurrection:

Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. (Matth. XXVIII. 19).

The Trinitarian formula betrays the lateness of the redaction, but the passage is older than the redaction, for the substance of it is found in the Fourth Gospel: Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. (John XX. 21). I have little doubt that the Matthean charge read originally: baptizing them into my name, simply; to which Rendel Harris assented when, in 1900, I pointed this out to him. After reading the present statement (*Open Court*, September, 1902) he wrote to me as follows:—"In regard to the last verse of Matthew, we are now in a position to speak more positively. As the result of Conybeare's examination of the manner in which Eusebius quotes the closing passage, it may be

taken as proved that the Old Cesarean form was as follows :

Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach them everything that I have commanded you.

See Preuschen's *Zeitschrift* II. p. 275.

So there was not even a baptismal command, any more than a mention of the Trinity."

As a Christian believer (tho attacht to no sect or church whatever) I personally maintain that the post-resurrection missionary charge is no mere fiction introduced to imitate Buddhism (granting that even the catholic Luke knew thereof,) but a reality. It is my conviction, after long research and thinking, that the Lord Jesus was vividly present, in some guise—whether palpable or visionary matters little—to his disciples after death, and especially to Peter. I believe too that he imprest their minds with his wishes, which had expanded since the days when he forbade ministrations to Samaritans and pagans. Unfortunately the account of the great appearance to Peter has been lost, if not suppress by the Church. It probably contained the Charge to Peter (misplaced in Matthew XVI.) and some matter relating to the descent into Hades mentioned in Peter's Epistle. But this leads us to the question of the lost ending of Mark, and is out of place here. I will only quote the proof-texts for an apparition to Peter :

Mark XVI. 7. Go, tell his disciples and

Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee : there shall ye see him.

(Cf. also Mark XIV. 28, fortified by the parallel in Matthew, but weakened by its omission in the Vienna Gospel-fragment from Egypt.)

1 Cor. XV. 5. He appeared to Cephas.

Luke XXIV. 34. The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

Eusebius, H. E. II. 1. "Clement [of Alexandria].....in the seventh book [of his Institutions] writes also thus :

'The Lord transmitted the Gnosis unto James the Just, John and Peter after his resurrection.' "

Shahrastāni of Persia, A. D. 1150.

"After he was dead and crucified, he returned, and Simon Peter saw him, and he spake with him, and transmitted to him the power. Then he left the world and ascended into heaven, and Simon Peter was his vicar." (Haarbrücker, Vol. 1, page 261).

20. BAPTISM, AND SPIRITUAL BAPTISM.

Matthew III. 14.

John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me ?

John IV. 2.

Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (**S. P.** in Chinese Ekottara.)

Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XI,
p. 109. (1)

Now Subhaddo the hermit said unto St. Ānando: “Lucky, friend Ānando, very fortunate, friend Ānando, are ye who have here been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in the presence of the Master !”

Tho this expression be figurative—for there is no such rite in the Book of Discipline—yet it implies the practise as existing at the time of Gotamo. The commentator Buddhaghoso, in the fifth cen-

(1) The Chinese *Dirgha* (No. 2) has all the paragraphs about Subhaddo except 66 and 67. Instead of 66 it has: Buddha said to Subhadra: **As I have told you** (the ordination) **depends upon the person** (to be ordained). 67 is omitted here. Other versions of the Decease Book, (N. C. No. 543, No. 552, No. 1118, No. 1119), have long passages about Subhadra's ordination, but without mentioning the sprinkling. (A. M.)

tury, quotes older writers as saying that Ānando poured water over Subhaddo's head. See note in S. B. E. XI, p. 110. The introduction to S. B. E. XLV. gives an account of Hindū Baptist theories.

Mark I. 7, 8.

There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you with water; but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

Classified Collection VII. 2. 11. (Wanting in Chinese.)

Place: Sāvatti.

On this occasion there was a Brahmin named Saṅgāravo living at Sāvatti, and he was a Baptist (literally, a **water-purity-man**), and believed in purity by means of water. He continued devoted to the practise of descent into the water, evening and morning.

Now St. Ānando, having drest betimes, took bowl in robe and entered Sāvatti for alms. And having traversed the city and returned from the quest of alms, in the afternoon he called on the Lord, saluted him and sat on one side. And so sitting St. Ānando said unto the Lord: "Master, there is living here in Sāvatti a Brahmin named Saṅgāravo, who is a Baptist and believes in purity by water: he

continues devoted to the practise of descent into the water evening and morning. Good Master, may the Lord, out of compassion, call at the abode of Saṅgāravo the Brahmin."

The Lord consented by being silent.

Then the Lord having drest betimes took bowl in robe and called at the abode of Saṅgāravo the Brahmin, and sat on a seat prepared for him. And the Brahmin, approaching the Lord, exchanged civilities with him, and then sat on one side. While he so sat, the Lord asked him: "Brahmin, is it true that you are a Baptist and believe in purity by water? Do you continue devoted to the practise of descent into the water evening and morning?"

"Yes, Gotamo."

"What significance do you see, Brahmin, in being a Baptist and in water-purity? Why do you continue this practise evening and morn?"

"Well, Gotamo, the fact is that whatever bad deed I have done during the day I wash away at evening by ablution; and whatever bad deed I have done in the night I wash away at morning by ablution. This is the significance, Gotamo, that I see in being a Baptist and why I believe in purity by water. And so I continue devoted to the practise of descent into the water evening and morn."

[Buddha said:]

“Religion is a lake, O Brahmin, and ethics is the baptistry⁽²⁾ thereof,

Untroubled, esteemed by the wisest of the wise,

Where indeed Vedic scholars their ablutions make :

As those who cross with limbs unwet unto the farther shore !”

[Whereupon the Brahmin is converted on the spot.]

In the Numerical Collection X. 107, there is a text beginning : Monks, there is in the southern countries a practise called Baptism (or, washing away.) It is performed with feasting and amusements ; but Buddha says it is not true Baptism ; but I, monks, will show you the noble Baptism. This leads to Nirvāṇa. According to the commentator, the ceremony in question was not baptism of the living body, but a washing of the bones of the dead. It was in a country where cremation was not practised, and this bone-washing was performed by exhumation after burial.

(2) *Tittho* : Sanskrit *tīrtha*, a sacred bathing-place.

21. VIGIL.

Mark I. 35.

In the morning, a great while before day, he rose up and went out, and departed into a desert place, and there prayed.

Mark VI. 46-48.

He departed into the mountain to pray..... About the fourth watch of the night he cometh unto them.

Luke VI. 12.

He went out into the mountain to pray; and he continued all night in prayer to God.

Mark XIV. 37, 38.

And he cometh and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst thou not watch one hour? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

“Watch,” *γρηγορέω*, Latin *vigilo*, means to keep vigil. An examination of the New Testament passages where the word occurs is very instructive.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 1.

(C. T., N. C. 1122. Cf. 1117.)

Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XIII, p. 74. Same passage in
Enunciations I. 1-3.

The Lord sat in the posture of meditation for seven days, enjoying the bliss of deliverance; and at the end of that period he arose from the trance and thought out the Chain of Causation, in direct and reverse order, *during the first watch of the night.....And again during the middle watch.....And again during the last.*

Enunciations VI. 9.

(S. P., N. C. 546, corresponding to Samyutta II. 2.8.)

Thus have I heard. Once the Lord was staying at Sāvatti, in the Victor's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And at that season the Lord was sitting thru-out the thick darkness of the night in the open air, with oil-lamps burning.

See also Enunciations I. 7, translated below, Parallel 71; also S. B. E., Vol. XX, p. 299.

22. TRANCE.

Acts X. 10, 11. And he became hungry, and desired to eat; but while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and he beholdeth the heaven opened, etc.

Long Collection, Dialog 6.

Translated by T.W. Rhys Davids: Dialogs, 1899, p. 200, § 10, 11.

(The translation is much condensed, by the omission of epithets repeated, in the Pāli, from previous discourse. Anesaki reports the passage as lacking in the Chinese.)

In some cases, O Mahāli, a monk practises the trance (*samādhi*) with the double purpose of seeing divine forms—lovely, ravishing, fascinating—whether eastward, southward, westward, northward, above, below, or across, and of hearing divine sounds—lovely, ravishing, fascinating.

Of course this is not the true object of trance, as the sermon proceeds the show. Its aim is Nirvāṇa. Be it observed that Peter's trance is accidental, but Buddha's induced.

Enunciations III. 4.

(The Book of Enunciations has not been found in Chinese.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. Once the Lord was staying at the Victor's Grove, the cloister-

garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And on that occasion St. Sāriputto was sitting not far from the Lord, with his feet turned under him, straining his body straight, looking right before him, inducing mental collectedness (*sati*). And the Lord saw him thus, and knowing the meaning thereof, he gave vent, upon that occasion, to this Enunciation:—

“Even as a rocky mountain unshaken
standeth firm,

So a monk, from the destruction of folly,
like to the mountain, trembleth not.”

Sati is the act of collecting the scattered forces of the mind and bringing them to a focus upon some one object of meditation, while *samādhi*, or trance, is the sustained rapture thus induced. Both states are conscious, tho the second not physically so. The first one has long been known to the Christian world thru the Society of Friends, and probably the second also, at least in the seventeenth century. Their importance in Buddhism may be appreciated by the fact that they are the last two steps in the Noble Eightfold Path of Gotamo's First Sermon.

23. CELIBACY.

Matthew XIX. 10-12.

The disciples say unto him, If the case of the man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men: and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

1 Corinthians VII. 32, 33.

I would have you to be free from cares. He that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife.

In this famous chapter, for which Paul disclaims inspiration, the monastic ideal of later Christendom is foreshadowed.

Long Collection, Dialog 16 :
Book of the Great Decease, V. 23.

Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 91.

S. T., in Chinese Ekottara, i.e. Numerical Collection. (1)

Lord, how shall we behave toward womankind?

(1) The Chinese *Dirgha* omits this part (Cf. S. B. E. Vol. XI. p. xxxviii). In other versions this is either omitted or given simply expressing the necessity of Chastity. (A. M.)

Don't see them, Ānando.

But, Lord, if we do see them, how then?

Don't speak to them, Ānando.

But, Lord, if we have to speak, how must we behave?

Ānando, you must exercise mental collectedness (*sati*).

Long Collection, Dialog 1. (C. T. 21.)

Translated by Rhys Davids: Dialogs, Vol. I, p. 4.

Renouncing unchastity, the philosopher Gotamo is chaste. He walks afar and abstains from the act of sex, the rustic law (*dhammo*.)

24. POVERTY.

Luke VI. 20.

He lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said: Blessed [are] ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.

The parallel in Matthew V. 3 has: Blessed are the poor in spirit,—thus altering the poverty from actuality to sentiment. But Luke, as usual, agrees with the Buddhist tradition. Renan long ago pointed out that Luke has more passages in praise of poverty than the other Evangelists. See, for example, Luke XII. 33: Sell that ye have and give alms—a passage peculiar to Luke. So also does Fausböll parallel the Lucan parable of the Rich Fool with the **Dhaniya Sutta** (S. B. E. X, part 2, p. 3); where the herdsman glories in his possessions, and the Lord in his spiritual attainments and earthly homelessness.

Matthew VIII. 20: Luke IX. 58.

The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven [have] nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

Hymns of the Faith, 200. (C. T. in Chinese).

Ah ! live we happily in sooth,—
We who have nothing :
Feeders on joy shall we be,
Even as the Angels of Splendor.

Hymns, 91. (C. T. in Chinese.)

The thoughtful struggle onward,
And delight not in abode :
Like swans who leave a lake,
Do they leave house and home.

Hymns, 421. (C. T.)

Whoso before, behind and in the midst
Hath naught his own,—
Possessing nothing, clinging unto naught,—
Him do I call a Brahmin.

Collection of Discourses, Stanza 37.

Just as a great bambū entangled is
With branches in each other, so the care
Of children and of wife; but like the shoot
Of bambū clinging not, let one alone
Wander as wandereth an elephant.

Whole pages need to be copied from the
Pitakas to set forth in its fullness the Buddhist

asceticism, while the glamor of the open-air freedom that shines over all is reflected in the New Testament by such expressions as: Consider the lilies, &c. The sections on Celibacy and Poverty have been added in 1904, after looking thru Seydel.

25. THE DISCOURSE ON DEFILEMENT.

Mark VII. 15.

Hear me all of you, and understand: there is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile him: but the things which proceed out of the man are those that defile the man.

Collection of Discourses 241.

Destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, speaking lies, fraud and deceptions, worthless reading, intercourse with another's wife,—this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh.

We do not give the entire Sutta: it is found in S. B. E., Vol. X, part 2, pp. 40-41.

26. THE COMMANDMENTS.

Mark X. 19.

Thou knowest the commandments: Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honor thy father and mother.

This is an abridgement of the list in Exodus XX. Those commandments which deal with duties toward the Deity are omitted, and among them the observance of the Sabbath.

Short Recital: The Ten Precepts.

(S. P. in Long Collection, No. 21, corresponding to the Pāli No. 1.)

1. I obey the commandment to abstain from taking life.
2. To abstain from theft.
3. Unchastity.
4. Lying.
5. Wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.
6. Unseasonable meals.
7. Dance, song, music and shows.
8. Using garlands and perfumes for decoration and adornment.

9. High or broad beds.

10. I obey the commandment to abstain from receiving gold, silver or money.

Nos. 6 to 10 were binding only upon monks.

The Short Recital is a manual for beginners, and contains this moral code, which recurs elsewhere in the Canon.

These are the genuine Ten Commandments of the Buddhists, and any alteration of them in popular works is modern adaptation merely. In the present translation the full form is given only in Nos. 1 and 10, so as to minimize tedious repetitions.

27. FAITH AND WORKS.

James II. 14; 24; 26.

What doth it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but have not works? Can that faith save him?.....Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith..... For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works is dead.

Logia-Book 32, 33. (C. T. in Chinese).

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahāt, and heard by me. A person possess of two qualities, O monks, is cast into hell just as he deserves. What are the two? Evil conduct and evil belief. A person possess of these two qualities, O monks, is cast into hell just as he deserves. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus :

By evil conduct and by evil belief,
Of these two qualities a man possess,
After the body's breaking is a fool,
Who riseth again in hell.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahāt, and heard by me. A person possess of two qualities, O monks, is cast into paradise just as he deserves. What are the two? Good conduct and good belief. A person possess of these two qualities, O monks, is cast into paradise just as he deserves. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus :

By good conduct and by good belief,
Of these two qualities a man possess,
After the body's breaking is a wise one,
And riseth again in paradise.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

28. THE POWER OF CONFESSION.

1 John I. 9.

If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

Romans X. 10.

With the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

Long Collection, Dialog No. 2. (C. T. 27.)

Translated by Burnouf, *ap.* Grimblot, p. 243; also by
Rhys Davids: Dialogs, p. 94.

Truly, then, great King! a transgression has made thee transgress, as an ignorant, infatuated criminal, — thee who couldst deprive of life thy righteous father, that righteous King. But because, great King! thou hast seen [all] transgression from [this one] transgression, thou hast made expiation according to the Doctrine, and we accept this from thee; for this is an advance, O great King! in the Discipline of a Noble One: a Noble One who has seen all transgression from one transgression makes expiation according to the Doctrine: for the future he undergoes restraint.

In Jātaka 431, the Bodhisat and his mistress are saved by speaking the truth. Lying is worse than adultery.

29. CASTES LOST IN THE LORD.

Galatians III. 28.

There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye all are one [man] in Christ Jesus.

Mark III. 34, 35.

And looking round on them which sat round about him, he saith, Behold, my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

John XV. 14, 15.

Ye are my friends if ye do the things which I command you. No longer do I call you slaves; for the slave knoweth not what his Lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you.

Enunciations V. 5;

Minor Section on Discipline, IX. 1.

(S. P. in Ekottara.) Translated in S. B. E. XX, p. 304.

Just, O monks, as the great rivers,—to wit: the Ganges, the Jamna, the Rāpti, the

Gogra, the Mahī,—when they fall into the great ocean, renounce their former name and kind and are counted as the mighty sea : just even so, monks, do these four castes,—to wit : the Nobles, the Brahmins, the Tradesfolk, and the Slaves,—when they have gone forth from domestic life into the homeless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline made public by the Tathāgato, renounce their former name and clan, to be numbered with the Sākya philosophers.

We have passages similar to this in various texts. Among them, Madhyama, Nos. 35 and 36, (1) agree nearly with the Pāli. There five rivers, (Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Çarabhū, Aciravatī or Airāvatī and Mahī) are enumerated. Cf. my book on Buddhism, pp. 98-99. (A. M.)

(1) These agree with the Anguttara VIII. 19. No. 35 is the parallel text to that and the passage is found in Vol. IV. p. 202. (A. M.)

30. CO-OPERATION OF WOMEN.

Luke X. 38, 39. Now, as they went on their way, he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at the Lord's feet and heard his word.

John XI. 5.

Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus.

Acts XVIII. 18.

And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila.

Romans XVI. 3.

Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life laid down their necks.

Classified Collection XLIV. 1. (Wanting in Chinese).

Now, Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, going from Sāketo to Sāvatti, came to the inn at Portaltown, between Sāketo and Sāvatti. And the King said to a certain man: "Man, go to some wise philosopher or brahmin in Portaltown, to whom I may pay my respects to-day."

“Well, your Majesty,” answered the man to Pasenadi the King of Kosalā: “while wandering about the whole neighborhood of Portaltown, I have not seen any philosopher or brahmin to whom the King may pay his respects.”

Then the man saw Khemā the nun arrived at a dwelling in Portaltown, and thereupon he approacht the King and said: “Your majesty, there is not in Portaltown any philosopher or brahmin to whom your majesty may pay his respects; but there is, your majesty, a nun named Khemā, a disciple of the Lord, of the Holy One, the supreme Buddha; and about that lady there is gone abroad a good report: that she is wise, expert, intelligent, learned, eloquent, good at repartee. Let your majesty pay his respects unto her.”

Thereupon the King introduces himself to Khemā and puts to her the well-known poser: Does the Tathāgato exist after death? Her answer is the same as Buddha’s. (Middling Collection, No. 72, translated by Warren, p. 127.)

The Book of Hymns by Nuns is another proof of the intellectual activity of women in the early days of Buddhism. See the essay by Mabel Bode: *The Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation*. (Ninth Oriental Congress, 1892.)

31. EATING WITH SINNERS.
THE MAGDALENE.

Mark II. 16.

The scribes of the Pharisees, when they saw that he was eating with the sinners and publicans, said unto his disciples, He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners.

Luke VII. 37-39.

And behold, a woman which was in the city, a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting at meat in the Pharisee's house, she bought an alabaster cruse of ointment, and standing behind at his feet, weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and kist his feet, and pointed them with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have perceived who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him, that she is a sinner.

Luke VIII. 1, 2.

And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went about thru cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and

certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out.

Matthew XXI. 31, 32.

Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward, that ye might believe him.

The identification of the woman who was a sinner with Mary of Magdala is not certain though popularly accepted.

Major Section on Discipline, VI.30.

Repeated in Long Collection, Dialog 16: Boop^f the Great Decease. (C. T. 2.)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 105, and ^{KL}, p. 30.

Now Ambapāli the harlot heard that the Lord had come to Vesāli, and was staying in her own mango-grove. Then Ambapāli the harlot made ready her best carriages, mounted her best carriage, and departed from Vesāli with her train. Then she went to her own mango-grove, and having gone as far as the

ground was passable for carriages, she alighted from her carriage and proceeded on foot to where the Lord was; and approaching him, she saluted him and sat on one side. And while she was sitting, the Lord instructed, incited, excited and delighted Ambapāli the harlot with religious discourse.

And being thus instructed, incited, excited, delighted, she address the Lord thus: "Let the Lord and his Order of monks consent to take dinner with me tomorrow."

The Lord consented by silence. And Ambapāli the harlot, having observed his consent, rose from her seat, saluted the Lord, and keeping him on her right hand, departed.

The noble youths of the city are indignant at the invitation, and offer the courtesan one hundred thousand pieces to give up her intended entertainment of the Buddha, so that they may invite him. But she refuses; and next day, after the meal, presents her mango-grove to the Master and his Order.

This passage is not found in the two Chinese Vinaya texts: N. C. Nos. 1117 & 1122. (A. M.)

32. THE MASTER REPROACHT FOR GENEROUS FARE.

Matthew XI. 19.

The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! And wisdom is justified by her works.

Middling Collection, Dialog 26. (C. T. 204.)

The narrative is given by Buddha himself in the first person. Translated by Warren, p. 343. Repeated in Mahāvaggo, I. 6 (in the third person), and translated in S. B. E., Vol. XIII, p. 92.

Now the company of the five monks saw me [Mahāvaggo has the Lord] coming from afar; and when they saw me they took counsel together, saying: "Brethren, here comes the philosopher Gotamo, who lives in abundance; who has given up ascetic exertion, and has turned to an abundant life. Let us not salute him, nor rise from our seats when he approaches, nor take his bowl and robe from his hands. But let us put a seat here; and if he likes he may sit down."

The sacred narrative proceeds to tell how the august presence of the newly enlightened sage awed the company into breaking their resolution and showing him due reverence.

END OF VOL. I.

ADDENDA.

P. 21. While the present edition supersedes the Tōkyō edition of 1905, the latter is still useful for readers of Chinese, as it contains Chinese various readings of Buddhist texts. Copies may still be obtained in Tōkyō and London (Kegan Paul). A specimen page will be found at the end.

P. 25. If children were taught the primary sounds of the Roman alphabet, much confusion would be avoided. Children should know that the nations of Europe (except the Greeks and the Russians) have borrowed their alphabet from the Romans; that each people has modified it to its own linguistic needs; but that all, except the English, have retained the original values of the vowels.* And even in English these original sounds are preserved in such words as *fAther*, *thEre*, *machIne*, *bOre*, and *trUth*.

Children should also be taught the affinities of the sounds: P, B, T, D, &c. While we have inherited the disorderly A, B, C of Phenician traders, the Hindūs have inherited an alphabet arranged according to the organs of speech by scholars who were thinking out such problems when our British

*The French, however, have changed the sound of U by introducing the tongue, but they have not made it a diphthong as we have.

ancestors were dyeing their skins violet and our English ones were German and Danish pirates. Münsterberg's objection to the past tense in T would then fall to the ground. He complains that foreign students are helpt by the ED for the past tense, which serves as a guide-post. But a child who knew that KD was an impossible combination, and must inevitably become KT, would have no difficulty in recognizing this kindred form of the past tense, as he must do even now in *kept* and *slept* and *dreamt*.

P. 54, General Rule. The consonants in Sanskrit and Pāli are pronounced as in English, except the c, whose value is that of modern Italian.

P. 95, note 7. Insert: John VI. 42.

P. 125. Robert Waln, Junior, of Philadelphia (1794-1825) came to the same conclusion presented here about the Seres: viz., that they were the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan. See his essay: *China.....With remarks on embassies and trade.* (Philadelphia, 1823.)

The Historical Introduction was mostly written between 1898 and 1900 before M'Crindle's works were accessible to Americans. Thru the kindness of Wilfred H. Schoff, the author has now seen that scholar's *Ancient India, as described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901.) The journey to India, in the first century B. C., of Eudoxus of Cyzicus ought to have been noticed on p. 119, while

the description of the Samanos preserved by Porphyry from Bardesanes should have found a place on p. 127.

In the next edition, I hope to discuss a Parallel from the Numerical Collection to the Parable of the Sower, which has been pointed out to me by Anesaki.

Italics occurring in Sacred Texts must, in future editions, be made uniform thruout.

On pp. 12, 42, 51, 62, 79, 81, 87 and 134 there are lapses into the conventional spelling; while on pp. 63 and 127, in the notes, are the only actual misprints yet found: the proper names of Charton and Lardner. These are corrected in the Index.

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S. B. E., Vol. XLV, Introd., p. xli 231

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Dialogues of the Buddha. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids.
Vol. I. London, 1899. (Contains Nos. 1-13.)

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Translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva, A. D. 397-398.

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(Nanjio's Catalog, No. 543.)

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Translated by Yuan Chwān (seventh century A. D. Nanjio's Catalog, No. 714, unidentified by him in 1883).

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(b.) Lost Book in the Canons of the
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(This book appears to have been similar to the Avadānas, but confined to the more exalted disciples. One of the Tibetan translators of the Udānavarga calls the illustrative stories *Nidāna*. Cf. the Dhammapada Commentary.)

(c.) Books in the Fifth Collection of the Elders
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Oldest translation, A. D. 224. (Nanjio's Catalog, No. 1365.)

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(It is also frequently quoted by Anesaki alongside of the Pāli, tho not by stanza.)

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Note.—There are other books in the Fifth Nikāyo not quoted here. In making this Index, the conventional Pāli order of the books of this Nikāyo has been purposely departed from, so as to remind the student that the arrangement of the Pāli is not the only one, and to stimulate research into the date of these works.

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*This exists separately in Chinese (Nanjio 674). (A. M.)

Note.—The Chinese recensions of the Abhidharma which, like those of the Vinaya, belong to different sects, are very important for fixing the date of the Canon. See Takakusu's article in *The Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (London, 1905.)

Note.—In my *Buddhist Bibliography* (Journal of the Pāli Text Society, London, 1903, p. 53), I wrongly classified this anthology as Mahāyāna.

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Edited by F. Max Müller, 49 vols. (Oxford, 1879-1904).

This collection is not in scientific order, and all references are duplicated above. It was the wish of Max Müller to include a new translation of the Old and New Testaments, but this was denied him. The Buddhist Scriptures also are very slightly represented.

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A. B., with Buddha.

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(Note).—*The life-dates, B. C. circa 557-477, are very probable, but not certain.

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*Plutarch (who was born within twenty years after the Crucifixion) is a witness to the fact of the accessibility of India in New Testament times. Thus, he tells us (*Vit. Pomp.* 70) that the fame of Pompey and Cæsar had reached that land; that the armies of Mark Antony struck terror into the Hindūs beyond Bactra (*Vit. Ant.* 37); that Cleopatra wisht her son by Julius Cæsar to flee to India after the battle of Actium (*Ibid.* 81); that the Hindū mentioned on p. 119 of Vol. I burnt himself in the presence of Augustus, and that his tomb was still famous in Plutarch's own day (*Vit. Alex.* 69). It was doubtless seen by Paul when he was viewing Athens (*Acts* XVII. 23). Plutarch, in his lost Lives of the early Roman Emperors, may have mentioned the Christian religion.

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*This scholar wrote a long essay on the relations of the Roman Empire with Eastern Asia (*Journal Asiatique*, 1863) which, in spite of some mistakes, is worthy of translation and annotation. The allusions to India in the Roman poets are very fully analyzed.

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Note.—In giving dates, my rule has been to give the century of remote characters and the life-dates of nearer ones. Extremes meet, and the only ones undated are living persons and mythical ones. King Arsun should have been dated B. C. Sæc. IV., but Liscus (for Lnscus), Paou-yun, Tao-shih and Tao-süen I am unable to fix in such a month as July, when almost the entire scholastic class is away, and for Asiatics our biographical dictionaries are useless. Two eminent scholars, Vincent Fausböll and Jean Réville, have died while the Index was being made. In some cases one cannot be certain whether a writer be living or not.

In sorting the index cards, the author was materially helpt by his young friends Charles and Vera Buckaloo.

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

Founder of the Pāli Text Society of London, 1881; editor of many Buddhist texts from the palm-leaf manuscripts of Ceylon; author of *Manual of Buddhism* (many editions, as well as Dutch and German translations); translator of *Dialogues of the Buddha and Buddhist Suttas* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI); author of *Buddhist India* (*Story of the Nations Series*: London, 1903), etc., etc., late Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

“It may be thought, perhaps, that though the examples adduced by Seydel were insufficient [to prove Christian borrowing], yet that the new factors since discovered, through the publication, by the Pāli Text Society, of the Nikāyas, may still make that conclusion possible. We shall soon see. An American scholar, Mr. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, is on the point of publishing a complete set of comparisons between the Nikāyas and the Gospels, adducing later materials only by way of [illustration]* and carefully distinguishing them from the earlier documents.”—*International Quarterly*, Burlington, Vermont, March–June, 1903, pp. 7 and 8.

THE LATE EDMOND HARDY (1852-1904.)

Catholic priest and Benedictine monk; professor of philosophy at Freiburg in Baden, and of Indic philology at the Swiss Freiburg; editor of the last seven nipātos of the *Anguttara Nikāyo* for the London Pāli Text Society. Not to be confounded with the English Singhalese scholar, Robert Spence Hardy, who died in 1874. In May, 1904, a few months before his death, E. Hardy wrote to me:

“No one can deny that these parallels are striking, more or less; and you do a good work to call attention to them.” [This was referring to Ed. 2.]

**Comparison* is the word used, but this is probably a slip. This notice was based upon the first edition (1902), wherein the list of *Uncanonical Parallels* made it clear to Rhys Davids that the author would avoid Seydel's mistake of using pre-Christian and post-Christian Buddhist books indiscriminately.

ERNST KUHN.

Professor of Indic Philology in the University of Munich; author of a Pāli Grammar (1875) and of the leading work on the medieval Buddhist-Christian romance of Barlaam and Joasaph (Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences, 1893).

“Was an derartigem in den letzten zwanzig Jahren erschienen ist, würde sich aus dem ‘Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie’ und der ‘Orientalischen Bibliographie’ bei einiger Umsicht unschwer zusammenstellen lassen.

“Beachtet zu werden verdienen darunter namentlich die Beobachtungen, welche Albert J. Edmunds zuerst im ‘Open Court,’ dann mit dem Titel ‘*Buddhist and Christian Gospels now first compared from the Originals: being “ Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts,” reprinted with Additions*’ separat als eine Art Prospekt eines grösseren Werks zu Philadelphia, 1902 (2 ed., 1904), veröffentlicht hat.” [From Kuhn’s *Nachwort* to *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen*. Von G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga. Göttingen, 1904, p. 103. This book belongs to the series of Researches into the Religion and Literature of the Old and New Testaments, edited by Wilhelm Bousset and Hermann Gunkel.]

J. TAKAKUSU.

Professor of Sanskrit in the Imperial University of Japan; sometime student under Max Müller at Oxford, and co-translator with him of Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX.

“It is certainly the best text-book for the advancement of religious knowledge. There will be a time, we may hope, when every missionary training college will use this as a standard work for the study of the relative positions of the two great missionary religions. It is, at any rate, indispensable for those who go to Japan as missionaries, where the two religions are brought face to face in their activity. It is significant that this lifework of Mr. Edmunds should be published in Japan, for, as he says: ‘Dramatic in the highest is the course of the two great world-faiths: Buddhism has rolled from the Ganges to the Pa-

cific, and Christianity from the Jordan, in the reverse direction again to the Pacific, until in Japan and the United States, after their age-long and planetary march, they stand looking at each other across that ocean—once a Spanish, but now an American lake.' ” [Historical Introduction, p. 160.] . . .

“Japan will be grateful to our author for the boon of this excellent work, which will, I hope, eventually help to bring about a solution of the religious problem of Japan.”

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: London, January, 1906, pp. 245 and 246.

[On page 244, Professor Takakusu also says: “His careful summary of historical relations between the East and the West, and minute analysis of the original texts, tend to prove successfully the possibility of connection between Christianity and Buddhism.”]

M. ANESAKI.

Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Japan; editor of the present work; author of a Japanese book on Buddhism, in which the vast fields of Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist literature are drawn upon abundantly.

“Die mehrjährige Arbeit Edmunds’ kann mit Recht als der erste Versuch der obenerwähnten Forschung bezeichnet werden. Wie Professor Rhys Davids über das Werk bemerkte,” etc. [Then follows a German translation of the statement by Rhys Davids quoted above.]

From an article on the book by Anesaki in the *Deutsche Japan-Post*: Yokohama, September 30, 1905, p. 8 (4 Jahrgang, No. 26).

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Ghent; one of the editors of *Le Muséon*, an Oriental magazine published by the universities of Ghent and Louvain; author of several esteemed works on Buddhism.

“J’ai dit du livre de M. Edmunds tout le mal que j’en pensais; mais je n’en ai pas fait suffisamment ressortir les mérites.

A supposer que tout le monde juge avec aussi peu de bienveillance que je le fais les résultats auxquels elle aboutit en ce qui regarde nos Évangiles, la présente publication n'en est pas moins fort importante pour l'histoire comparée des religions d'une part, l'histoire du Bouddhisme de l'autre.(1) Avec une grande conscience, M. Edmunds a étudié la littérature canonique de langue pâlie."

[The critique of Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin appeared in the *Revue Biblique* of Paris for July, 1906, where it occupies 29 pages. My learned critic is chiefly concerned in proving that my verbal Parallels are robbed of their cogency by the difference of the ideas involved in their respective contexts. He is a philosopher and no mere philologist, and has given me much food for thought. Let me here correct one or two errors. When M. Poussin says, of the Ascension, "d'après notre auteur, il ne se rencontre aucun original bouddhique," I do not know what he means. In a note (p. 26) he adduces the ascension of Arahats as a noteworthy parallel overlookt by me, but in my book, p. 192, I have translated the account of Dabbo the Malian's ascension. M. Poussin is also in error when he says, "M. Edmunds tient pour hérétique" "le Bouddhisme dit 'du Nord.'" My notes on pp. 194 and 223 should have corrected this, as also my recognition of the fact that several sects refused to canonize the Statement of Theses (p. 159). It is true, however, that my Historical Introduction was written in the Nineties, when my only guide to the Chinese versions was Samuel Beal. There is no copy of Nanjio's Catalog in Philadelphia, and it was not until 1900 that I found one in the National Library at Washington. But M. Poussin should re-read my San Francisco supplement to *Buddhist Bibliography* to see how well I am awake to the importance of other sects than the Elders with their Pāli.

Again, my critic is a Catholic, and cannot understand the position of a Quaker or a Swedenborgian—the former with his

(1) Voir le compte rendu de M. J. Takakusu, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 243-6.

Universal and Saving Light; the latter with his Divine influx into all mankind and his "lost Word" to be found in Central Asia. A man who has been saturated with these ideas has far deeper questions to answer than "Que vaut la Bible?" (P. 9.)

In spite of his fair and well-stated strictures, M. Poussin is friendly, and such remarks as the following would make any author's blood circulate: "Si je m'attache au livre de M. A. J. Edmunds, ce n'est pas qu'il soit particulièrement démonstratif; mais d'une part, les arguments qu'il présente n'ont pas encore été discutés, et, de l'autre, il y a plaisir et profit à cheminer avec lui." (P. 8.)]

The references to the present work are all to Vol. 2 here, so the pages of Ed. 3 are retained.

JEAN RÉVILLE AND J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

Reviews by these scholars are frequently noticed in the present edition. The lamented Jean Réville appears to assume that my aim is to derive Christian doctrines from Buddhism, and begins by stating categorically how distasteful it is to us to be indebted to the Hindūs. Estlin Carpenter's remarks are friendly, but we do not always agree on points of translation.

LEARNED JOURNALS.

For Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, see Takakusu.

LITERARISCHES ZENTRALBLATT FÜR DEUTSCHLAND.

Leipzig, February 10, 1906, pp. 234, 235 (57 Jahrgang, No. 7.) Article signed H. Pl.

"Vergleichende Arbeiten über die buddhistischen und christlichen Evangelien besitzen wir schon von Hilgenfeld, Seydel, Hardy, u. a., die aber sämtlich den Fehler haben, sich nur auf Uebersetzungen aus dem Pāli zu stützen. Das vorliegende Werk geht auf den ursprünglichen Pālitext zurück. . . . [Here follows

a synopsis of the book]. Das Werk kann allen, die sich mit vergleichenden Religionsstudien beschäftigen aus wärmste empfohlen werden."

LUZAC'S ORIENTAL LIST.

London, May-June, 1903.

"Many of the ethical parallels adduced by him are interesting and justifiable, but when we come to theology and eschatology, as in Nos. 37, 38, 42, 45 and 58, the parallelism is not exact, and never can be."

[This critique was made upon the first edition, a mere 16-page abstract, wherefrom the reviewer could gain no idea of the author's position. The parallels quoted are numbered 52, 54, 58, 66 and 83 in the present edition. Their rubrics are:

- 52. The Savior is Unique.
 - 54. The Light of the World.
 - 58. The Master knows God and his Kingdom.
 - 66. Saving Faith in the Lord.
 - 83. The Great Restoration.]
-

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Edinburgh, November, 1905, p. 88. (Vol. xvii, No. 2.) Edited by James Hastings. It is the organ of the Scottish Church.

"This bookful of parallels is not gathered in vain. It speaks of a deeper matter than imitation. It throws a new light on the whole study of religion, on the whole problem of the religious life. It is not that St. Luke copied Buddha. It is that, telling the story of the Birth in Bethlehem, he brought himself into touch with the religious desires of man all over the world, and furnished what they desired. They had been seeking this Incarnation, this Babe in a manger, feeling after it, but never securely finding it. The study of Comparative Religion will be

the study of the future, and the future is not far away. We need not be driven into it by fear; let us enter it with that reverent joy with which the Shepherds entered the Cave at Bethlehem. . . . [Then follows an account of the book]. It is a volume of great learning, and the value of it is not to be gathered from a single quotation."

THEOLOGISCHES LITERATURBLATT.

Leipzig, March 16, 1906, pp. 127-129. (Jahrgang xxvii, No. 11). The organ of Lutheran scholarship, representing the universities of Kiel, Greifswald, Rostock, Leipzig and Göttingen. Present review by Otto Zöckler, professor of Church History at Greifswald, author of commentaries, etc. The aged critic died before his article appeared.

"Dem vor einigen Jahren getanen Ausspruch des Indologen R. Pischel: 'Wie jetzt Babel ungestüm an die Pforten des Alten Testaments pocht, so klopft, vorläufig noch leise, an die Tür des Neuen Testaments Buddha' scheint aus dem Inhalt der hier vorliegenden Schrift einige Bestätigung zu erwachsen. Ja es dürften sich manche Leser finden, welche auf Grund dieser Edmunds-Anesakischen 'Collation buddhistischer und christlicher Evangelien' das Anklopfen Buddhas schon als ein so starkes zu vernehmen meinen, dass sie die Tür des Neuen Testaments weit für ihn aufzutun sich bereit zeigen. Den Unterzeichneten hat die Lektüre des Buches nicht in eine so sanguinische Stimmung versetzt.

[The learned professor, in the course of the review, exposes my ignorance of recent German books and articles, to which I plead guilty, and cordially thank him. The neglected writers have since been sought out, but not a single one is an Indianist. However, from one of them, Pfeiderer, I have gotten some useful hints.]

"Die deutsche religionshistorische Forschung wird von dem Edmundsschen Buche zwar Notiz nehmen müssen; aber es lässt sich bezweifeln, ob dasselbe im dermaligen Stande der Annahmen der das Problem 'Buddhismus und Urchristentum' behandelnden kompetenten Forscher eine sonderliche Aenderung herbeiführen wird."

THE OUTLOOK.

New York, October 7, 1905, pp. 331, 332.

“As a contribution to the study of comparative religion from a Japanese scholar, this volume has a peculiar interest as well as a positive value for the student. That prince among Oriental scholars, the late Max Müller, regarded it as an open question whether a few of the parallel stories in the Buddhist Canon and the Gospels had or had not been ‘carried from India to Alexandria and Palestine.’ Professor Anesaki holds to the independence of the fundamental documents of the Buddhist and the Christian Scriptures. He only raises the question whether the Gospel of Luke, ‘in certain traits extraneous to the Synoptical narrative,’ is indebted to a Buddhist source.”

[This is a quotation from my main preface, p. 42 ; but the hasty reviewer overlookt my signature and ascribed the words to Anesaki, who signs his own preface a few leaves further on.]

THE OPEN COURT.

Chicago : September, 1905, p. 538. (Article by Paul Carus entitled *Buddhist and Christian Gospels: work done in comparative religion by Albert J. Edmunds.*)

“We wish to state here that we deem the results of Mr. Edmunds’s investigation important in a high degree, and think that he is especially fitted for his task ; because, on the one hand, he is a Christian and an accomplished New Testament scholar, and, on the other hand, he sympathizes strongly with Buddhist doctrines. There is perhaps no one in the world so well acquainted with the sources of both religions as he.”

[This last statement is only true of Professor J. Estlin Carpenter of Oxford, who is a New Testament scholar and a Pāli scholar.]

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

LIGHT OF DHARMA.

San Francisco, January, 1906, p. 133. The organ of the Japanese Buddhist mission to the United States.

“This work is the pioneer of this kind of labor. Of course, we have a large number of books of parallelism, expressing ideas of the two greatest religions of the world, but we need corresponding parallels drawn from their texts. From this point of view this work has no rival.”

THE SECULAR PRESS.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

Literary editor of the New York *Sun*.

“A remarkable book comes to us from the Yūhōkwan Publishing house at Tōkyō.” [Then follow nearly five columns of review, chiefly quotations from the Historical Introduction. The article appeared in the *Sun* (literary supplement), October 15, 1905.]

NOTE.—The book has not been criticized by any first-class Indianist or New Testament scholar in my own country. The difficulty here is that American Orientalists are seldom acquainted with such a rising study as Buddhism and its sacred language the Pāli. While there are chairs for Brahmin literature, there is not one for Buddhist in this hemisphere. What should we think of a university where French literature was merely a side issue with the professor of Latin and Italian?

By ALBERT J. EDMUNDS, M.A.,

(University of Pennsylvania),
Member of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia.

HYMNS OF THE FAITH (*Dhammapada*): being an ancient anthology preserved in the Short Collection of the Sacred Scriptures of the Buddhists. Translated from the Pāli, by Albert J. Edmunds. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, 1902, 12°, pp. xiii + 109.

Extract from a Review by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, in *Le Muséon*: Louvain, 1906.

“Sans insister sur les nombreux passages où M. Edmunds, à la fois fort ingénieux et fort bien informé de la philologie pâlie, s'écarte de la 'vulgate' de Max Müller, la caractéristique de son travail est la forme rythmée dans laquelle, avec beaucoup de succès, il s'est efforcé de rendre l'allure chantante, tantôt plus légère, tantôt plus grave, de l'original. Il a eu raison de ne pas se faire un devoir d'être tout à fait conséquent sur ce point, et de ne pas écrire toujours en vers réguliers; car, autant il est souhaitable que la traduction se moule sur la stance hindoue, autant il est coupable de sacrifier le sens à un scrupule de forme. Très rares sont les cas où le laconisme de la phrase laisse quelque peu d'obscurité: nombreux ceux où on admire le choix heureux des mots et la souplesse de la syntaxe. Partout on sent que cette traduction a été écrite *con amore*, avec un égal souci de séduire le lecteur contemporain et de respecter la pensée indienne.”

A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY, based upon the Libraries of Philadelphia. London: *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1903, 8°, pp. 1-60. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ABOVE. With identification of Asoko's First Selection, &c. Philadelphia, 1904, 8°, pp. 8. (Reprinted from the *Light of Dharma*: San Francisco.)

A BUDDHIST GENESIS. Chicago: *The Monist*, January, 1904, pp. 207-214; April, 1904, p. 472.

THE SHORTNESS OF THE PRIMITIVE BUDDHIST CANON, as shown by the researches of Anesaki and Suzuki. San Francisco: *Light of Dharma*, January, 1905, pp. 237-241.

AN ANCIENT MOSLEM ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIANITY. [With a note on the Mark Appendix]. Chicago: *The Monist*, January, 1905, pp. 120-123.

THE CHINESE ITIVUTTAKAM, and its proof of Pāli Additions. San Francisco: *Light of Dharma*, October, 1905, pp. 85-86.

CAN THE PĀLI PĪṬAKAS AID US IN FIXING THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS? Philadelphia, 1905, 8°, pp. 8. [Ernst Kuhn said of this: "Diese Parallele scheint mir sehr beachtenwert zu sein."]

BUDDHIST TEXTS QUOTED AS SCRIPTURE BY THE GOSPEL OF JOHN: a discovery in the lower criticism (John VII. 38; XII. 34). Philadelphia, 1906, 8°, pp. 41. (London: Luzac & Co.)

This essay has been sympathetically reviewed by James Hastings, editor of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, in his magazine, *The Expository Times*, (Edinburgh, December, 1906.) It has also been ably travestied and satirized by P. Wurm, in Harnack and Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, (Leipzig, February 2, 1907.) Jean Réville, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris, Sept.-Oct., 1906) is more serious and scholarly, tho he cannot believe that the greatest religion of pre-Christian Asia can have influenced even so eclectic a writer as the Fourth Evangelist. This is because the Mediterranean Sea is still the center of our culture, which has not yet crost the Euphrates.

The author has privately received encouraging notices from Rhys Davids and Otto Pfeiderer. The latter considers the main argument conclusive. Both of these eminent scholars have broken the shackles of the Mediterranean culture. Frederick W. Frankland, of New Zealand, in a note to his reprint of my poem, *The Sacred Books of the East*, says: "A. J. Edmunds, the author of this poem, has demonstrated, by means of the Pāli texts, the partial dependence of our Fourth Gospel on Buddhism."

FAIRMOUNT PARK AND OTHER POEMS. With historical notes. Philadelphia, 1906, 4°, pp. 52. [The poem entitled *The Sacred Books of the East* has twice been reprinted and annotated by Frederick W. Frankland, of New Zealand. The late Albert H. Smyth, editor of Franklin, said: "I have enjoyed the poems for their own still sympathy and beauty. They have a love of the deep remedial and redemptive forces of nature that is seldom found in our contemporary verse."]

QUAKER LITERATURE IN THE LIBRARIES OF PHILADELPHIA. Westtown, Pennsylvania: *The Westonian*, Eleventh Month, 1907, pp. 181-203. With Addenda, pp. 2, 4°.

For other articles, see *Fairmount Park*, pp. 50-51.

By **MASAHARU ANESAKI, Ph. D.,**

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Kahn scholar, 1907-8.

LIFE AND DOCTRINE OF BUDDHA. [In Japanese]. Tōkyō, 1904, pp. 267, 8°. (Uniform with the third edition of Buddhist and Christian Gospels.)

HOW CHRISTIANITY APPEALS TO A JAPANESE BUDDHIST. London: *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1905, pp. 1-18.

Le Sagātha-vagga du Saṃyutta-Nikāya et ses versions chinoises. Traduit de l'anglais par Albert J. Edmunds. Louvain: *Le Muséon*, 1905, pp. 15.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF JAPAN: an outline. With appendices on the textual history of the Buddhist Scriptures. Tōkyō, 1907, 12°, pp. 76. (Reprinted from the *Encyclopedia Americana*.)

Professor Anesaki has also contributed to the forthcoming Dictionary of Religions, edited by Dr. Hastings of Edinburgh. As he is now traveling in Europe, the author cannot secure his co-operation in making a fuller list.